JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

with which is incorporated
The Society of Biblical Archæology

Published by the Society
74 GROSVENOR STREET LONDON W1

CONTENTS

Prehistory in Malaya

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(PLATES I–III)

UNTIL 1918 only a small amount of desultory work had been done on the prehistory of the Malay Peninsula. Systematic excavating, collecting, and recording was started in that year by Mr. I. H. N. Evans, Curator of the Perak Museum at Taiping, and continued until his retirement in 1932.

On this foundation work has been continued up to the present by members of the staff of the Raffles and Federated Malay States Museums, supervised in its earlier stages by the late Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels. Generous grants of money made by the Carnegie Corporation of New York enabled excavations and publication of results to be carried out on a scale that would not have been possible otherwise.

Although much material and a great many facts have been collected, our knowledge of the chronology of the Malayan prehistoric cultures is still very inexact, particularly in regard to the degree to which the older cultures persisted alongside of the younger. For this reason no classification into stone-, bronze-, and iron-" ages " is proposed although these terms occur in the literature of the subject. The order in which the bearers of the successive cultures entered the country is, however, fairly clear, and they will be described in this order, from older to younger.

References by author and date are to the bibliography at the end of the paper.

The Palaeolithic.—In April, 1938, Mr. H. D. Collings, Assistant Curator, Raffles Museum, discovered stone implements of a very crude and primitive type in river gravels at Kota Tampan in the valley of the Perak River. A large

collection was made and a note published in *Nature* briefly describing the discovery under the title "Pleistocene Site in the Malay Peninsula" (Collings, 1938). The name *Tampan Culture* is proposed for these implements, and kinship with the Javanese Pajitan Culture is suggested. They consist typically of large, heavy pebble implements of the chopper and hand-axe type, usually flaked on one side only, the cutting edge being formed by the meeting of the flaked surface with the unworked pebble skin. A few biface examples were found and numerous flakes. Very little discrimination is shown in the choice of material.

Evidence for the antiquity of these implements on other than typological grounds is not conclusive. They were found in gravel deposits above the normal level of the river, but there is no distinct terrace formation. Some of the gravels underlie a deposit of volcanic tuff, probably derived from the eruption which formed the crater now occupied by the Toba Lake in Sumatra. Apart from the fact that it took place in prehistoric times nothing is known of the date of this eruption. No fossils have been found associated with either the gravels or the tuff.

The Pajitan culture is not definitely dated, but a third discovery of implements of this type was made in Pleistocene terraces in the valley of the Irrawaddy by H. de Terra and H. L. Movius in 1937 and 1938. Their apparent affinity with this Burmese culture (the *Anyathian*) affords the chief claim of the Kota Tampan implements to be considered as Pleistocene in age.

The Cave Culture.—I use this term to describe the culture represented by flaked pebble implements and other artefacts in caves and rock shelters in the limestone hills.

In the early days of research in Malaya the term "palæolithic" was used. The discovery of true palæolithic implements renders this obviously unsuitable. Callenfels' term "Melanesoid Cultures" (1936b) has been criticised on the ground that evidence that the authors of the culture were

predominantly Melanesians is insufficient. The Cave Culture has obvious affinities with the "Hoabinhian" of Indo-China, and this name has been used comprehensively to describe cultures of the type under consideration throughout the Far East and in Australia.

Its distribution within the Malay Peninsula is determined by that of the steep hills of Permo-Carboniferous limestone in which the caves are found. These are most numerous in the north and become fewer and more isolated southwards. No Cave Culture remains have been found south of Bukit Chintamani, a limestone hill in Central Pahang (Tweedie, 1936). Northwards of this, on both sides of the main central mountain range, practically all suitable sites appear to have been inhabited.

The artefacts representing this culture are generally found in midden deposits consisting of earth, ash, and food-remains in rock shelters or near the mouths of caves. Typically they consist of implements made by flaking ovoid or more or less flattened river pebbles. The flaking may be complete, but usually a portion of the original weathered crust of the pebble remains. Commonly the pebble is flaked on both sides, but in the so-called Sumatra-type implement working is confined to one side only. In the biface implements grinding has sometimes been carried out at one end to produce a cutting edge; this is the "protoneolith" of various authors. I consider it more likely that it is the prototype of the "round axe", evolving through such types as that illustrated on pl. iv, 1 of Tweedie, 1940, than the prototype of the quadrate neolithic tools.

Cave Culture tools are described and illustrated by Evans (1927, p. 143), Callenfels and Evans (1928), Collings (1936), Callenfels and Noone (1940), Tweedie (1940), in Winstedt's *History of Malaya*, and elsewhere. Two examples are illustrated on Plate I.

Associated with these stone implements are found pieces of red iron oxide or hæmatite (often showing signs of grinding

or rubbing to make ruddle), hollowed slabs and rounded stones used for grinding various substances including ruddle, with which some are stained, and flakes, some probably a by-product of the manufacture of the pebble tools, others scraping and cutting tools with secondary working (Collings, 1936, pp. 8, 9; 1937b, p. 105). The ruddle was probably used to make paint for adorning the body.

Food remains consist of the shells of molluscs, chiefly Melaniidæ at inland sites and various marine species at sites near the sea, and the bones of vertebrates, belonging as far as is known always to extant species.

There is some evidence that the Cave Culture can be subdivided on grounds of typology combined with observations on the stratification of the middens. Callenfels and Noone (1940, p. 121) found that in a rock shelter at Sungai Siput, Perak, the implements in the lowest layers were mainly uniface (Sumatra-type) tools made of rounded pebbles, while those in the overlying strata were made of flat pebbles of schistose rock. Differences in burial custom were observed to be associated with this subdivision; a skeleton with updrawn knees (flexed burial) was found in the lower layers while the higher contained a number of secondary burials, i.e. agglomerations of bones from corpses that had been allowed to disintegrate before interment.

In rock-shelters on the east side of the main range in Kelantan the quality of workmanship of Cave Culture implements was found to be higher in the shallower (i.e. younger) than in the deeper layers of the deposit (Noone, 1939, p. 174; Tweedie, 1940, p. 8). It is also worthy of note that Sumatra-type implements were not found in these excavations and appear to be confined to the older deposits in the west of the Peninsula.

The Neolithic.—I use this term to denote the culture represented in Malaya by polished stone tools with a normally quadrate cross-section, accompanied by unglazed pottery, variously ornamented but most typically "cord-marked".

In their classification of the succession of cultures found in Indo-China the French prehistorians have included the Hoabinhian and Bacsonian (roughly equivalent to the Malayan Cave Cultures) in the Neolithic (*Néolithique inférieur*) together with the equivalent of the culture we are now considering (*Néolithique supérieur*). I consider that the classification adopted here gives a clearer picture of the great contrast between the two that is evident at any rate in Malaya.

The Cave Culture people were primitive savages. There is nothing to show that they were superior in culture to the Tasmanian aboriginals. The Neolithic folk probably reached as high a state of civilization as has ever been attained by a purely stone culture.

The variety displayed by their stone implements is remarkable. A small selection of types is illustrated on Pl. III. The following references are to published illustrations of Malayan neoliths, examination of which will give a fairly complete picture of their typology, though many more fine specimens have not yet been figured: *Journ. Fed. Malay States Mus.*, IX, pl. xxiv; XII, pl. ix, xii, lii; XV, pl. i, ii, iv, xiii, xiv, xx, p. 67 (Evans); Evans, 1927, pl. xxxiv–xxxvii; Collings, 1936, pl. xvi–xix; Linehan, 1928, pl. xxxviii, xliii; Tweedie, 1940, pl. vi, vii; Winstedt's *A History of Malaya*, fig. 6.

Simple adzes (Pl. III, 1, 3) are the commonest type; axes, having the cutting edge lying in the median plane of the tool, are rather rare. The curious beaked adze (Pl. III, 2) is not uncommon and seems to be confined in this particular form to Malaya. Shouldered adzes (Winstedt, ibid., fig. 4c) occur but are rare. These implements range from over 400 mm. in length to less than 40; the smallest were probably hafted as chisels rather than adzes. All give the impression of being the tools of workers in wood rather than weapons of the chase or of war. Apart from the axes, which are equally suitable for felling trees, the only obvious weapons are two spear-heads recorded by Evans from Kelantan and Pahang (Evans, 1930a and 1931c).

The most usual stone used is a very fine-grained dark grey or black rock without any pronounced cleavage, probably an argillaceous sediment hardened by contact metamorphism. Unfinished specimens show that the tools were skilfully shaped by flaking and needed only a minimum of grinding to bring them to their finished condition. The remains of flake-scars can often be seen on finished tools, and the butt, which was probably concealed by hafting, is generally not ground.

Stone rings or quoits (Pl. II, 5) are not uncommon. Most of the recorded specimens are flat with a sharp or bevelled edge (Pl. III, 5; Linehan, 1928, pl. xxxviii, 10; pl. xliii, 1). There is evidence that they were made by piercing a lenticular disc of stone, probably by rotary drilling with bamboo and sand. The central cores resulting from the process (*disques d'évidement* of Colani) are occasionally found (Evans, 1931a, p. 54).

A curious type of stone knife occurs associated with typical neolithic remains in the upper waters of the Pahang river, especially along its tributary the Tembeling. These knives (Pl. III, 4, and Winstedt, ibid., fig. 5) are made of fissile schist or slate and only the edge is ground.

Bone implements have been found in quantity only at a cave excavation in Perlis, the farthest north of all the sites examined (Collings, 1937b, p. 100). Occasionally specimens have been recorded further south (Tweedie, 1940, p. 5).

Cross-hatched bark-cloth beaters of stone such as are illustrated by Evans (1927, pl. xxxviii, and Winstedt, ibid., fig. 9) are probably to be referred to the Neolithic, though they have been found in anomalous situations, including an "iron-age" granite cist (Evans, 1928) and at a considerable depth in Cave Culture deposits in Kelantan (Tweedie, 1940, p. 5).

The pottery of the neolithic people reflects their high state of culture as clearly as their stone artefacts. Study of it has not yet proceeded far, but extensive collections have

been made in caves, and it is hardly too much to say that no two vessels are found to be alike. Their chief interest lies in their diversity of form. Reconstructions and complete vessels are figured by Collings (1937b, fig. 6; 1940, fig. 1, 2), Noone (1939, pl. xlvii, xlviii), Tweedie (1940, pl. x, xi, xii), and on Plate II. Many more fragments, indicating an endless variety of shapes, are in the collections of the Malayan museums. Ornamentation was relatively unambitious; cord-marking is the most usual form of ornament (Collings, 1936. pl. xi, xii, xv; Tweedie, 1936, pl. xxiv, xxv; 1940, pl. viii, ix). Simple incised patterns are also found (Collings, loc. cit.; Tweedie, 1940, pl. vii, ix). Three shards are shown on Pl. I.

The ware is generally dark in colour with sand and charcoal tempering and often a polished surface produced by burnishing with the application of soot. The curious objects interpreted by myself as potters' turn-tables (Tweedie, 1940, p. 14) are of smooth ware with a red, clay slip.

By far the greater number of the stone implements in collections have been obtained by purchase from country Malays who find them in river beds after floods and in their rice-fields and keep them in the belief that they are thunderbolts (*batu lintar*). Many have also been found in the course of alluvial mining. One open neolithic site on the river Tembeling was excavated by Evans (1931a).

Practically all the pottery has been obtained in caves. Is is often mixed with the upper layers of Cave Culture deposits, but it seems clear that it is not to be associated with the cave dwellers, the mixing being due to the activities of termites and burrowing animals and also to the fact that the neolithic people sometimes buried their dead in caves and rock-shelters (Noone, 1939). I have discussed the use of the caves by the neolithic folk (Tweedie, 1940, p. 17, and incline now to the belief that rites were conducted in the caves. With one somewhat anomalous exception (*infra*, Tanjong Bunga) the distribution of the Malayan Neolithic extends scarcely farther south than that of the cave culture.

Other Stone Culture Sites.—Stone implements have been found at a few sites which are best considered apart from the three cultures described.

The Province Wellesley Shell-heaps.—Mentioned in 1861, these were the first evidences of prehistoric man to be recognized in Malaya. They were visited by Evans in 1930 (1930b), and those at Guak Kepah were excavated by Callenfels in 1934 (*Illustrated London News*, 5th January, 1935). Originally they are said to have been as much as 20 feet high, but unfortunately the purity of the shell-deposit composing them (mainly the bivalve species *Meretrix meretrix*) was such that it was suitable for making lime and they were largely destroyed.

The results of the excavation (Callenfels, 1936a) suggest some affinity with the Cave Culture. Similar implements and red hæmatite occurred and the same type of secondary burial was practised. On the other hand cord-marked and other pottery of more advanced type suggests the influence of later cultures. The peculiar type of flat-waisted axe illustrated on Pl. III, 6 (see also Callenfels, loc. cit., pl. xxxi, xxxii, and Winstedt, ibid., fig. 3) is almost confined to this site and does not give any evidence of the affinity of the culture.

Tanjong Bunga, Johore.—This site has been mentioned in connection with the distribution of the Neolithic. It is situated in the extreme south of the Peninsula on the shore of the Johore Strait. Implements found washed out on the shore were described by Engku Abdul-Aziz (1932) and in 1938 an excavation was made at the site. No account has been published except a brief note in the annual report of the Raffles Museum for that year. The composition of the culture differs from any encountered previously in the Peninsula. Some small ground neolithic adzes were found together with round axes similar to those which occasionally occur in the youngest layers of the cave deposits, and some quartz microliths, the only Malayan examples of this type of implement.

Kuantan District, Pahang.—A series of chipped pebble implements from alluvial gravels in the valley of the Kuantan River, Pahang, was reported on by Collings (1937c). Their affinity is clearly with the Cave Culture, and they are probably to be correlated with the earlier phase of the succession observed by Noone and myself in Kelantan (*supra*, p. 4).

Skeletal Remains Associated with the Stone Cultures.—Apart from the observations of Professor F. W. Huxley (quoted by Callenfels, 1936a, p. 28) on remains from the Province Wellesley shell-heaps, the earliest published report is that of W. L. H. Duckworth (1934), who found strongly-contrasted types represented by skeletons from Malayan caves. Individuals of pygmy stature with dolichocephalic skulls (if the correct association of limbs and crania was made) occurred together with others who attained the average stature of West Europeans. Both are classified as Dravidians or Pre-dravidians without more precise allocation of their affinities. In the light of later knowledge it is worth pointing out that skeletons of both the cave dwellers and the more advanced neolithic folk are likely to be encountered in caves in Malaya and both may well have been present in this collection.

Mijsberg (1940) described a lower jaw from the Province Wellesley shell-heaps and definitely assigned it to the Palæ-melanesian type now found among the natives of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. Professor Huxley's conclusions, referred to above, point in the same direction.

Cultures associated with the Use of Metals.—It is improbable that any indigenous bronze culture flourished in Malaya in prehistoric times. No copper exists in a form accessible to primitive mining methods and the few undated bronze artefacts that have been found were probably imported. I am inclined to discount the evidence of the " drop " of metal found in a mine in Negri Sembilan (Evans, 1927, p. 159).

The artefacts include small socketed celts (Evans, loc. cit.), a knife or spear blade from Pahang, and the ornamented tympanum of a drum from Pahang, of the type associated

with the bronze-age of Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago (Linehan, 1928, fig. 1, pl. xlii; Evans, 1929, p. 187; Winstedt's *History*, fig. 10).

Slab-built Graves in Perak and Selangor.—Graves lined with unhewn desquamated granite slabs, as illustrated in Winstedt's *History*, fig. 7, are found in a restricted area in South Perak and North Selangor (Evans, 1928; 1931b; Collings, 1937a). Human remains have all disappeared, but pottery, beads, and iron implements are recorded from most of them. The iron implements differ from modern Malay tools and weapons in being socketed instead of tanged; many are by normal standards very "unhandy" in design and it is hard to say what they were used for. They are found casually as well as in the graves, and are common enough to be familiar, under the name *tulang mawas* (apes' bones), to the Malays, who associate them with a legendary giant ape with sickles in its elbows. An example is illustrated on Plate III, 7, and others are figured by Evans and Collings (ll. cit.), and Evans 1931e, and in Winstedt's *History of Malaya*, fig. 8. On the evidence of the beads Beck (1937) proposed a date not far removed from that of the Kuala Selinsing remains (*vide infra*), and Quaritch Wales (1940, p. 56) guesses the slab-graves to be Indonesian.

Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak.—A detailed account of this site would be out of place in an essay on prehistory as objects have been found which can be at least tentatively dated. Moreover, the results of the investigations have been so completely summarized by Evans (1932) and discussed by him (loc. cit.), and by Quaritch Wales (1940, p. 54, 67–8) that recapitulation here is unnecessary. Quaritch Wales concludes that the culture is not that of an outpost of Hindu civilization but is essentially Indonesian and was influenced by the first wave of Indian cultural expansion during the first and third centuries A.D. This view is supported by evidence from skeletal remains showing Indonesian (Proto-malay and Dyak) as well as negrito affinities (Harrower, 1933).

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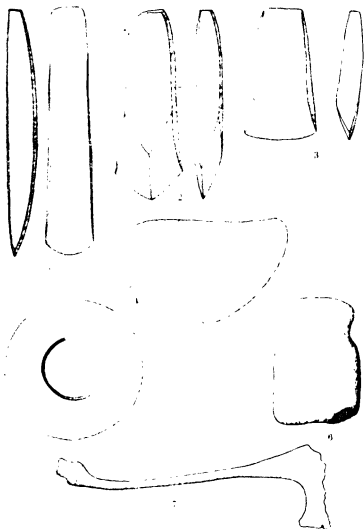
2
7

We can claim, then, to know something of the dating of the early metal cultures, but our knowledge of the chronology of the Malayan stone cultures is very incomplete and strongly emphasizes the need for further research.

Evidence for the Pleistocene age of the Tampan culture rests almost entirely on its resemblance to the Anyathian. Judged by its associated animal remains the Cave Culture appears to be recent in the geological sense; the cave dwellers certainly flourished in Malaya long before the advent of any civilized people, but how long we cannot say.

The frequently observed mixing of neolithic potsherds with Cave Culture artefacts in the shallower layers of cave deposits could be regarded as evidence that for a time the two cultures existed side by side. It is not conclusive, however, as the use of the caves by the neolithic people is now established, and the mixing may well have resulted from the activities of termites and burrowing animals, and from the neolithic burial customs. The aspect and mode of occurrence of the neolithic remains suggests that they are of no great antiquity. It seems probable that this culture was co-existent with some at least of the early Asiatic civilizations, but definite evidence for this, such as would be provided by the indisputable association of datable with neolithic artefacts, is still lacking.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES I–III

Pl. I.—1, 2. Cave Culture implements from Kelantan; 3, 4, 5. Neolithic potsherds from Kelantan.

Pl. II.—Reconstructions of neolithic vessels from Kelantan.

Pl. III.—1–5. Neolithic stone artefacts from Malaya; 6. Grooved stone axe from Province Wellesley; 7. Iron implement from Malaya of uncertain use. The socket is shown by an indication (dotted) of the haft.

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Kaṇaiska

By H. W. BAILEY

AMONG the Khotanese manuscripts from Tun-huang now in the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a fragment of a legend of Kaniṣka has been found. I transliterated these manuscripts during December, 1938, and January, 1939. In the roll numbered P 2787 there are 194 lines of Khotanese text. Lines 1–153 treat eloquently of the character and activities of the king of Khotan, called in line 50 *śī kū*[1] *śrrī vijitta*[2] *sagrrāma* and in line 82 *śai-kū miḍā jasta śrrī viśa'* ⟨*sa*⟩*grrąma* 'the noble lord, gracious god, Śrī Viśa' Saṅgrāma'. A second text in lines 154–194 contains the fragmentary legend of Kaṇaiska and Aśagauṣa his kalyāṇamitra. The first three lines are written in the now familiar Gostanian Sanskrit, the Sanskrit of Khotan. These lines are then translated, with some variants, into Khotanese in which language the text continues.

The story of the stūpa and saṅghārāma of Kaniṣka is related in various sources. It was told in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda. Of this tale Przyluski published a translation in *Journal Asiatique* 1914 from the Chinese and Tibetan. 法顯 Fa-hien,[3] 宋雲 Sung-jün,[4] and 玄奘 Hüan-tsang[5] all give variants of the story. Kaniṣka meets a shepherd-boy

[1] 50, *śī kū* 60 *śaraṇa-kūna*, 33, 82 *śai-kū*, P 3510, 7.4 *śim kūm*, Ch 1.0021 b, b 50 *śem-kūnä* will represent the Chinese 聖君 K 1205, 507 *śəng-kün* < *śiäng-kįuən*. I use K for B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, 1923.

[2] *vijitta* corresponds to the *vijida* of the Kharoṣṭhī document 661 in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. Boyer, Rapson, Senart, Noble, 1929; Translation in T. Burrow, *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, 1940. This *vijitta*, *vijida*, like the *vi-ja-ya* of Tibetan sources, seems to be an Indianization of the indigenous *viśa'* (= *viśa), indicated also by the Chinese transliteration 尉遲 K 1312, 784 *wei-ch'i* < *ʔi̯wei-ḍ'i. In Or 8212 (162) 21 he is called *śrrī vijitta sagrrauma rai*.

[3] Beal's translation I xxxiii, H. Giles' Translation, p. 13.

[4] Beal's Translation I ciii, Chavannes, BEFEO 3 (1903) 420.

[5] Beal's Translation I 99, in the Life of Hüan-tsang 63; Julien I 107.

according to Fa-hien and Hüan-tsang, in the Vinaya a boy (一 童 子), in Sung-jün four young boys. In the similar story of Aśoka, it is said (*Divyāvadāna* p. 366): *tatra dvau bāla-dārakau . . . pāṃśv-āgāraiḥ krīḍataḥ* 'There two young boys were playing with houses of mud'. In the Khotanese there are four boys who are the four world-regents in disguise. The original of the Khotanese variant has not been found. The date also varies in the sources. Fa-hien and the Chinese version of the Vinaya have 'after my Nirvāṇa', the Tibetan version of the Vinaya, Hüan-Tsang and the introductory lines in Sanskrit of P 2787 have 'four hundred years' after the Nirvāṇa, Sung-jün has in different editions 'three hundred years' and 'two hundred years'.[1] The Khotanese text gives 'one hundred years'.

The stūpa is called caitya by Al-Bairūnī[2] in his work on India: وكان من جملتهم كنك وهو الذى ينسب اليه البهار الذى بپرشاور فيقال كنك جيت 'And of their number was Kanik and it is he to whom is ascribed the *bihār* (= Skt. *vihāra*, monastery) which is in Purušāwar and is called Kanik-čait.' The Khotanese uses *sthūpa* (a Central Asian form of Sanskrit *stūpa*), the Chinese 塔 K 955 *t'a* < *tâp* (< Skt. *stūpa*). Of the adjacent building both *vihāra* and *saṅghārāma* are used. The Khotanese has both, the Chinese Life of Hüan-tsang 伽 藍 *kia-lan* 'saṅghārāma', in the Kharoṣṭhī inscription ⟨*ka*⟩*neṣkasa vihare*[3] and Al-Bairūnī *bihār*. Both *stūpa* and *vihāra* have been identified by modern excavation.[4]

Two points of particular interest are offered by this Khotanese fragment. There is first the spelling of the king's name. In 155 (Sanskrit) *kanaiṣkā naumā* (= **kaniṣko nāma*), and in 158 *kānaiṣka*, 171, 172, 185 *kanai'ṣka*, 180 *kānai'ṣka* in the Khotanese, differ from all hitherto attested forms with

[1] Chavannes, loc. laud. 423.

[2] *Taḥqīq mā li 'l-hind*, ed. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* p. 207, l. 12.

[3] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. Konow (1929), p. 137.

[4] See Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 271, for bibliography.

the cerebral *ṣ* and dental *s*, contrasting with the usual Sanskrit *kaniṣka*, Middle Indian in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions *kaniṣkasa*, *(ka)neṣkasa*,[1] Prakrit *kanikkha*, and Greek *KANHÞKI* = **kanēški*, Tibetan *ka-niṣka* and *ka-ni-ka*, besides various Chinese forms. The second point is the epithet *cadrra* 'Candra': in the Sanskrit lines *cadrra kaṇaiskā naumā* 'Candra-kaṇisko nāma', and in the Khotanese *cadrra kāṇaiska naumā*. This gives at last an actual attestation for the Sanskrit original of the Chinese use of 栴 檀 K 965, 967 *tṣan-t'an* < *tśjän-d'ân*. The problem was treated by the late Sylvain Lévi in a paper published posthumously: *Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana*[2] and had often been previously considered. When Professor F. W. Thomas was editing the Tibetan text of the *Mahārāja-kanika-lekha*[3] he had noticed in verse 83 an apparent play upon the word 'moon': *sa-bdag zla-ba zla-ba bźin-du mjod* 'O moon of lords of earth, act as the moon'. He posed the question in a footnote (p. 349), Can Kanika have been named Candra-Kanika or Caṇḍa-Kanika? The new evidence decides the question at least for Buddhist sources.

Since a slight difficulty may be felt about the spelling of *cadrra* in both the Sanskrit and Khotanese of P 2787, note that the class nasal is replaced in later Khotanese by the anusvāra, which in turn may drop. So in the one text Ch c. 001, containing the Buddha names of the Bhadrakalpikā-sūtra, occur 492 *candrabhānau* 'Candrabhānu', 343 *caṃdrra-ketu* 'Candraketu', and 232 *cadrrau* 'Candra', beside P. 2742.28 *cadrraprabha* 'Candraprabha', and JātS 14 r 1 *caṃdāprabha*. The equation *cadrra* = *candra* therefore need not be doubted.

Two other occurrences of the name remain to be added. In Ch ii 004, 2 v 3–4 (a text of the Vajrayāna) the name is found in a totally different context:—

[1] Ed. Konow, p. 145, 137.

[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, where bibliographical references are given.

[3] *Indian Antiquary* 32 (1903) 345–360.

3 u āṣṭī vaiśaucanä u padauysa haṃgauṣṭi 4 aṃmyāyi u śa' hagauṣṭi vajrrasattä u dida hagauṣṭa rahnasaṃbhavä u ⟨tcūrraṃ haṃgauṣṭi⟩[1] kanaiṣka aṃgäsaida u tta aū vä paṃjsa jasta ba'ysi jñāna u dharma-dhātä hadrrvyi vya aūna narauṃdä	And the thumb Vairocana, and the first finger Amitāyus and the second finger Vajra-sattva and the third finger Ratnasambhava and ⟨the fourth finger⟩ Kaṇaiṣka Amoghasiddha, and these five Buddhas come forth from within the knowledge and the absolute.

The second occurrence is in the Uigur text[2] of a Dedita 'Confession', where Kaniški is cited as the type of a kingly sinner later repentant.

The second story, lines 186 to the end, of Aśvaghoṣa casting a ball of clay upon the stūpa while uttering a wish to see a marvel, and the resulting appearance of an image of the Buddha, recalls the similar story of Kaniṣka's vow in the Chinese text[3] 付法藏因緣傳. Kaniṣka put a ball of clay on the stūpa (拿以埿團擲於塔上) praying that it might become an image of the Buddha (佛像). An image at once appeared.

As to the edition of this short Khotanese text, it will be seen that the end is lost and the three last lines are broken off, the final akṣara being half-destroyed. The scribe has blundered in the spelling of some words, as 160 *pharaka* for *pharāka*, and 160 *ttaradajrye* 'corporal' with loss of *-ra-* and intrusive *e*. Omitted syllables are given within brackets ⟨ ⟩. In nine cases italics have been used to indicate uncertainties in my transliterated copy, which need to be checked with the MS.: 155 *bh*, *n*, 158 *tt*, 167 *m*, *ū*, 170 *ū*, 185 *d*, 188 *ī*, 190 *m*.

[1] No lacuna in the MS.

[2] Bang and von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte* IV (1930), p. 4.

[3] *Taishō issaikyō*, vol. 50, no. 1058, p. 315, column 2, translated by Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1896, 446–7.

P 2787

154 | ‖ tta yathānūśrrūyaṭttai . cūttara-śatta-varṣa : paravarttai
155 baudhyāṃ bęgavau bā|hūlaka-vaṣāye : rrājābhūttę cadrra
156 kaṇaiskā naumā parasainyāvardhī būdhana | bagavattā
vyākratta īttā vaiścaraṃ :
157 tta tta aù vā pyūṣṭi hamyi hamā sa khū jasta bai'ysa |
paranairvye ttaña hadrra vya ssa salī parye ttana kālna
158 bāhulaka-vaṣayä ttahvāra|sthaima bala-cakrravarttāṃ
rruṃdau gūttaira vī ysā śūre pūñūda bvā'mąyi ttairṣṭada
159 jasta | bai'ysa jsa vārye bala-cakrravartta jabvī'ya rāja
160 rre pana cadrra kāṇaiska nau|mā
ṣi' mī rre pharaka se-ysyerye hīña jsa ū hīye ttaradajvye
161 hauva pārajse jsa | dara jabvī' dvīpa parāya vīstāve pharāke'
162 vā hvīyāṣā ū ttrrīyaśū'nyä sa|tva parauya jīye rrustāṃdä :
163 hadaña be'ḍa mī ṣä' rai kalāṇa-maittrrāṃ pārajsai jsa |
bai'ysāṃ śāśam' vīra ṣada aysmū vasvattā byaudai . kūra
164 drraiṣṭa patsai ū raṣṭyä drraiṣṭa | pārajsyai jsa asadai jsa
165 pathi haḍai haḍai aù drrayvā rauvā garkha vaisthārya pūña- |
kūśala-mūla yuḍai : tta kālā bāḍāṃ parsāmai jsa hamyai
166 ṣi' rai tcūra-ysanyai hīña | jsa pai'jsa ṣṭāna gaudāra parmahai
167 vīra ā ttye vā tta tta kṣama pana sa a ttye diśa' paiṣka|la
vīra maista vaisthārī sthūpa padīmāṃ tcūra-vadī bauganai
168 halairū kūṣṭa aūna va prra|vaiya baiysa-pūra parī vaska
haspīsīda :
169 ttaña baiḍa tcāra lākapāla ttyai rāṃda | hīyai aysmū bāsta
ttai vaska valakāṃ ṣikalakau hīyai rū yūḍāṃdä . ttai vaska
170 va|lakau ra ttyai diśa' vīra śau phāninai sthūpa āstadāṃdā : -
171 khū rai tta ṣika dyai brraṣṭa sa | ca ttū aù yadā ttai ṣika tta
hvāṃda sä kaṇai'ska sthūpau padīmāṃ raiva jsa hā pyāstai
172 tta hvai | sa cū ṣā' ttā pasta sä kaṇai'ska sthūpa ⟨pa⟩dīmīryā

Translation

Sanskrit :

As it has been heard, in the period of four hundred years the Bhagavān (had entered ?) into Bodhi (illumination), in the kingdom of Bāhlaka (Balkh), there was a king Candra-Kaṇaṣka by name, destroyer(?) of his enemies' forces, foretold by the Buddha—the detailed account.

Khotanese :

So it has been heard, when the Buddha had entered Nirvāṇa, within that period one hundred years had passed. At that time in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, in Tokhāristān, there arose in the family of the imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious, intelligent king of Jambūdvīpa, foretold by the Buddha in person, by name Candra-Kaṇiṣka.

The king with many hundred thousands of troops and relying on his own bodily strength was in command of the continent of Jambūdvīpa. Many men and animals by his command lost their lives.

At another time this king through his spiritual advisers attained to faith in the teaching of the Buddhas and to purity of mind. He rejected false views and in reliance upon true views he abstained from evil, day by day he produced important, extensive favourable roots of merit in the three jewels. So with the passing of time this king accompanied by his four-divisioned army came to the district of Gāndhāra. A desire thus arose in him. "I will build in this region a large and vast stūpa, I will fill it with the fourfold requisites, where the Buddha-sons gone forth (Skt. *pravrajita*) shall strive for deliverance."

At that time the four world-regents (*lokapālas*) learnt the mind of the king. So for his sake they took the form of young boys. So for his sake the boys began a stūpa of mud in that region. When the king saw the boys he asked, "What are you doing?" So the boys said to him, "We are making the Kaniṣka-stūpa." The king spoke with them, he said, "Who is he who ordered you, saying, You should build the Kaṇiṣka-stūpa ?"

173 ttanā kālna tta ṣikalaka hamai|sta hīvī rū pai jsā va toāra
174 lākapāla pyatsa vistāva: khū rai tta lākapāla dyai | pai'jsa
harīysām bāraina vaiysgaista pyatsa stai jsāṇakya vistā
175 pākauva aúrga śa|raṇā va tsvai. lākapāla jsa hā pyāstāṃda
176 ttai hvāṃda sa mista rrai va tvī bai'ysūñe | vyāṛṇana baiśa'
177 sakhāra padimāña hatsa vaisthārī sthūpa jsa ū hāṣṭai hā śa-|
rīra namadrrāña cai hā daryai jabvī dvīpa vī bisā pūñūda
178 śara satva daiva|tta parvālā barīda: cū ttā tta satta
179 hamāṃdai ca ttyai spyaka haiśā'mava masai | sthūpa pajsa
īnkdai tta ttā harbaiśa jasta-kṣīrrvā ysatha nāsārai nauha'
180 vīra jsāṃ | baiysūśćāṣṭā vyāṛṇa byaihīda ū ṣi' jsāṃ sakhāra
181 kāṇai'ska vyahāra nāma ha|mai
khū mī rai ttyāṃ lākapālā hiya hvāñāma pyūṣṭā yūḍai
182 ttaña baiḍa mī ñarmya|rā aúmāca pasta gauṣṭai tta pasta
183 sā pharāka vā kiragara hvaṇḍā hagai'jara: | mara ttyai diśa'
vīra sakhāra āstañara śau krrāśä ūskāṣkamai jsāṃ va
184 damarāśa' | padī‹mī›ryā: ysira ai'jsa ranyāṃ mīrāhyā
185 jsa ūḍa: aúmāca pharāka kiragara | hvaṇḍā hagrrīyāṃda
vara ttyai diśa' paiṣkala vīra kaṇai'ska sthūpa sakhāra
186 | āstadāṃdā ha‹tsa› dāmarāśa' jsa:
187 hadaña baiḍa mī ṣi' rai ha‹tsa› aśagauṣa ka|ḍāṇa-maittra
tsā[1]: ttaña kīrāṃja tsvai kūṣṭa āṃ ttū damarāśa' padaidāṃda:
188 ttaña | baiḍa mī sa aśagauṣa kaḍāṇa-maittrra śau āysmīnai
189 paṃḍai ūsthīyai tta | tta sattyāprrīyā ca yūḍā sa khū ttā
190 a ttyai bhadrrai kalpa baiysūśca bāna | avaśa ttyai pai'ṇḍai
diśaumai jsa apūrve gūṇai caira hamāvai: ttyai pai'ṇḍai
191 diśau|maiva masāmai: dadā stūḍai bvai'śdai baiysūñā
192 prrabaibai caira hamyai cada śā|kyamūna jasta bai'ysa///
193 | vasvai ṣi' pātca śa pai///
194 | sāra pai a'//

[1] For jsa?

At that time those boys changed their form, on foot the four world-regents stood before him. When the king saw those world-regents, trembling greatly, he dismounted from his horse. Before them standing humbly he stood, at their feet with reverence he went for refuge. The world-regents spoke with him (= *lākapālai jsa*), so they said to him, "Great King, by you according to the Buddha's prophecy is a saṅghārāma to be built wholly (?) with a large stūpa and hither relics must be invited which the meritorious good beings dwelling in Jambudvīpa, the deities and protectors, will bring. Whoever may be those beings who by only casting a flower thereon do honour to the stūpa, all those shall take birth in the worlds of the devas; in a moment they attain to bodhi (illumination) according to prophecy. And this saṅghārāma shall be named the Kaniṣka-vihāra."

When the king had heard the utterance of the world-regents, then he ordered his ministers to summon architects. So he ordered, "Assemble many working men. Here in this place begin a saṅghārāma, with a pile high as one krośa, and make for it also a dharmarājikā (stūpa), decked with gold, silver, jewels, and pearls." The ministers assembled many working men. There in that place they began the stūpa and saṅghārāma of Kaniṣka with the dharmarājikā.

At another time the king went with his spiritual adviser Aśagauṣa to that working place where they had made the dharmarājikā. At that time Aśagauṣa the spiritual adviser picked up a ball of clay. Such is the act of truth which he made, saying, "If I am to realize the bodhi (illumination) in this present Bhadra-kalpa, necessarily by the casting of this ball let some unparalleled sign appear." At once on the casting of the ball, a certain Buddha image appeared as great in thickness and length as was Śākyamuni the Buddha//// pure. He then . . . //// . . . foot . . . ////

Notes

154 (1) In normal Indian Sanskrit the text, evidently not wholly correct, would read :—

tad yathānuśrūyate catuḥśata-varṣa-parivarte bodhyām bhagavān bāhlaka-viṣaye rājābhūc candra-kaniṣko nāma parasainyāmardī buddhena bhagavatā vyākṛta iti vistaram.

(2) *parasainyāmardī may conceal *para-sainyāmardī* cf. *Divyāvadāna* p. 60, l. 20 *para-sainya-pramardaka* 'destroying the enemies' forces'.

(3) For the method of dating, cf. *Divyāvadāna* p. 368 *varṣa-śata-parinirvṛtasya tathāgatasya* 'one hundred years after the parinirvāṇa of the tathāgata'.

156 *pyūṣṭi hamyi hamā* perf. pass., P 3513, 35 r 3 *ttramdā hemye hame*, 36 r 4 *pesta hemye hime*.

157 (1) *paranairvye* 'parinirvṛta, passed into nirvāṇa', E *parandirvṛte*, *-valte*.

(2) *ssa sali* '100 years' against the Sanskrit '400 years'. The form *ssa* has the *ss* of the independent word; in compounds *-se*, *-sa* is mostly used, as *pam-se* '500': '400' has not been found in Khotanese. Note, however, P 2741, 94 *kṣa sse kina ñā īrā* '600 kin of jade' beside Or 11344, 4.7 *ysārā kṣe-se tcahau'sā* '1640'.

(3) *bāhulaka*, in the Skt. portion *bāhūlaka*, 'Bāhlaka, Balkh'. This is then a new form to add to those already known, Av. *bāχδī-*, OPers. *bāχtriš*, Elamite *ba-ak-ši-iš*, Gr. *Βάκτρα*, Skt. *Bāhlika*, Mid.Pers. *baχl*, *balχ*, Armen. *balχ*, *balh*, *bahl*, *baχl*, *baχl*, Syriac *bhl*, Arab.-Pers. *balχ* Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram* 31), Christian Sogd. *bhl* (Müller-Lentz, *Soghdische Texte* II p. 24). For *-hūl-* < *hl*, cf. the anaptyxis in *mirāha-* 'pearl', as infra 184, E *mrāhe*, P 3513, 82 v 3 *milaccha* loc. pl., E *mlecha* 'Mleccha'; *śukūla* (in P 2740, 6, a Sanskrit text) . *sukla*, P 5538 b 78 *ūdūgaṭaya* (see BSOS. 9. 540), a different anaptyxis also in *pāttara*, Skt. *pātra* 'bowl', *gūttaira* 'gotra', *vaśira* 'vajra'.

(4) *ttahvāra-sthaima* 'Tokhārstān', already quoted by Henning, *Argi and the "Tokharians"*, BSOS. 9. 547. Here

it is an explanation of 'the kingdom of Bactria'. This is then the true form of the Khotanese name of the *Tόχαροι* of Bactria: Henning has shown, loc. cit. 559, that *ttaugara* is the Turkish *tongra*. In *sthaima* is found a loc. sing. to **-sthāma* (for *sthāna*) 'place' with the usual y-umlaut of *ā* > *e*, *ai* in the locative, as *bāḍā* 'time', loc. sg. *beḍa*, *saṁkhārma* 'saṅghārāma', loc. *saṁkhyerma*.

158 (1) *gūttaira* 'family, gotra', see BSOS. 10. 898.

(2) *ttairṣṭada* 'present', cf. the hendiadys in P 2906, 11 *ttaikṣadā sāmūhe* 'sāmmukha, face to face' (BSOS. 10. 900). The *-ada* is pres. ptc. < *-anta-*, as Kha 0012A, 135 r 3 *hūsandā* 'sleeping', Ch c. 001, 870 *śānamdā śāna o ānamdā o hūsamdai* 'lying, or sitting or sleeping'.

159 (1) *vārye* 'vyākṛta, prophesied', see BSOS. 10. 901; infra 176 *vyārnana* 'by vyākaraṇa', 180 *vyārna*.

(2) *rāja rre* hendiadys, see BSOS. 10. 899. Infra 164 *kālā bāḍām* 'times'.

160 *pārajse jsa* 'in reliance on, on the basis of', Ch ii 002, 5 v 3 *pārajsye jsa* - Skt. *āśrayād* - Tib. *rten* 'support'; Ch 00267, 45 *pārjsai jsą*, 51 *pārjsa jsa* P 3513, 15 v 4 *pārajsye jsa*.

161 (1) *dara jabvī dvīpa* 'Jambudvīpa'; *dara-*, *darra-* 'broken' hence 'section, continent' renders *dvīpa*, so that in this phrase *dvīpa* is represented three times.

(2) *hvīyāṣā* 'humans', *hvīyaṣā* BSOS. 10. 588. For *-āṣaa-*, cf. also P 2928.22 *bīsadārāṣai* 'son of a householder', from P 2787.136 *bīsądārai* 'householder'.

(3) *pąrāya*, 152 *parauya* 'in the command of', loc. sing. to *parau*.

162 *jīye rrustāṃdā* 'they lost life', see BSOS. 10. 591. E 6.4 *jīvātu rruste* 'he lost life'. Cf. JātS. 35 v 4 *jīye byaudāṃdą* 'they got life', and Pali, Jātaka 206 (p. 153, l. 15), *jīvitaṃ labhissati* 'will get life'.

164 (1) *vaisthārya*, 167 sing. *vaisthārī*: P 2782, 58 *vistārī*, P 3513, 69 r 3 *vistārya* = Skt. *viśāla*, Ch ii 002, 22 r 1 *vįsthārī*, P 3513, 53 v 4 f. *avamāva vaisthārya carya*. For *sth*, cf. *sthūpa*,

found also in Bud. Skt. (Mironov, JRAS. 1927, 265, note 2).

(2) *kṣīlä bāḍāṃ* hendiadys, as 159 *rāja rre*.

166 (1) *gauḍära* 'gāndhāra', adj. to Gandhāra, E *ggandhāra*.

(2) *parmahai vīra*; P 2957, 24 *parmahe* = P 2025, 118 *paramai* = Ch 00266, 88 *parama* (Sudhana-avadāna), Or 9609, 55 v 2 *parmiho* = Skt. *nigame*.

(3) *dīśa' paiṣkala vīra*, also Ch 00267, 35 *tye dīśa' paiṣkala vī*.

167 *tcūra-vadī bauga* 'fourfold bhoga'. Probably the four necessities of the bhikṣu: *cīvara* 'clothes', *piṇḍapāta* 'alms-food', *śayanāsana* 'bed and seat', *glāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajya* 'medicine for the sick'.

168 *baiysa-pūra* 'Buddha-son', Pali *Buddhaputto*, P 3513, 47 r 4 *ba'ysä pūra*, 49 v 4 *baysä pūryau*; the abstract JātS. 19 r 2 *ba'ysa-vīriñä* 'Buddha-sonship', — for -*vīr*-, cf. E 6.101 *bara-vīrñä* < **bara-puθra*, JātS. 8 r 2 *barbīrye* 'gravida'.

169 *tcūra lākapāla* 'four world-regents', Or 9609, 27 r 6 *vaiśramanä*, *dhṛttirāṣṭrä*, *vārūlei*, *virūpākṣä*, see BSOS. 10. 915.

170 (1) *phāninai* 'of dust, mud'; Kha 1. 185a, a3 *śśä ggośtä phānä niśśāte* 'he put in one ggośtä-measure of dust', E 15.48 *saṃgga uysma phāna* 'stones, earth, dust'. The Chinese version of the Vinaya has 土 'earth'. In the story of Aśoka the two boys play with *pāṃśu* 'dust, soil', *Divyāvadāna* p. 366. Cf. also Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *saha-paṃsu-kīlia*-.

(2) *āstaḍāṃdä*, 183 *āstañara*, P 2933, 7 *āstadaudä*, Or 11252, 32.1 *āstaṃdādi*, Ch ii 002, 6 v 3 *āstañāñä* = Skt. *samārabhet* = Tib. *gdod byaho* 'begin', P 2787, 152 *āstañāmanai*: *āstañ*-: *āstaṃd*- with *āstana* 'beginning'.

171 *raiva jsa* 'the king with them': -*v-a* for -*v-aṃ* (-*aṃ* < older *nä* 'them'), with -*v*- of hiatus (BSOS. 10. 572). Also in 174 *pābnuva* 'at their feet'.

172 *padīmīryä* 'you should build', 2 pl. optative. For the 2 pl. two endings occur: (1) -*īryau*, -*īryä*, P 3513, 42 r 2–3 *ama ttä vaña hamīḍa ṣṭāna ādarä yanīryä bāśvä byāvarjyä*

samāhā harpiscc vīra biśā parchaṃdā hamīryṃ̄ ' so now being together you should show respect, in all memories should be disciplined (*parchaṃdaa-* = Skt. *śīlavant-*) in striving for the trances (*samādhi*) '; and in the Staël-Holstein roll 51 *ustaṃ va vyaysaña kaśīryṃ̄* ' finally you fall into disaster ' ; (2) *-īrau*, P 2031.4 *ā vā ami rrispūrāṃ kva'śa' daṃdā mūñarā kūṣṭi buri ciṃgvāṣṭā paṃda ni hamāve ā vā vą thyeṃ paḍā-tsā u hīryāsakā jsa paphūjīrau* ' either you should remain beside the princes, as long as there is no road into China, or you should join Thyeṃ Paḍā-tsā and Hīryāsaka '. For *ama, ami* ' you ', see BSOS. 10. 583.

174 (1) *harīysāṃ* ' trembling ', nom. sing. mid. ptc. *-ānā* ; P 2783, 59 (= BSOS. 10. 375) *haṃjsaiṣḍi mirāṃ* ' is likely to die ', Or 9609, 54 r 3 *ālīmānā* ' desiring '.

(2) *bāraina* abl. sing. ' from the horse ', Or 9609, 5 r 1 *haṃtsa hīñe jsa gīhāna bāryau* = *sa-sainya-bala-vāhanāḥ*, P 2782, 1 *ekayāṃ bārrai* ' ekayāna-vehicle ', hendiadys with *bāraa-* = *yāna*.

(3) *vaiysgaista* ' dismounted '. E *vaysgasta*, base *zgad-*, Av. *zgad-*, Sogd. *zγδ-* : *-aista* < *-asta*, cf. BSOS. 10. 574.

(4) *stai* ' standing', nom. sing. to *stāa-* ? Also JātS. 35 v 3 *hasta bede satī stai nauha kamala* ' didst mount on the elephant standing at the top of the head ', P 5538a 26 *u ināta stai hadi ma pā uhaunā ni paryąmina yuḍe*, P 2026, 5 *stai ṣṭąna nastā palamgā* ⟨*tsū*⟩*macā kīrā yinacā*.

(5) *pākauva aùrga* ' homage at the feet ', *pāka-* ' foot ' frequently, JātS. 8 r 2, 13 v 4 *pākvā orga* ' homage at the feet ', Ch 00269, 11 *dī pākā naysdi grāṃ brrīyąsti aysamū jsa aùrga drrūnā pūaisāma* ' under the feet near with warm affectionate mind homage, enquiry after health '.

(6) *śaraṇā va tsvai* ' went for refuge ', P 2026, 72 *aùrga śaraṇā va tsū aùnū* ' with homage I go for refuge, I bless '.

176 (1) *sakhąra*, 180 *sakhāra* ' saṅghārāma ', older Or 8212 (162) 21 *sakhārma*, E *saṃkhārama*, loc. sg. *sakhyerma*.

(2) *śarīra* ' relics ', E 15.11 *śarīrai būta u damarāśa padaṃda* ' asked for relics of him and built dharmarājikā stūpas ',

P 4099, 429 *ttyā ïda sūja*[1] *pajsa śerīra sthūpi baiśa bīnāña bu'nau spyau jsa pharai kalpa ṣade jsa brrīya* 'to them they do honour (hendiadys), relics, stūpas, all, with music, incenses, flowers, for many kalpas, in love with faith'.

178 *haiśä̃ mava masai* 'by only casting, giving', Ch ii 002, 3 r 4 *vaskalyä̃mata mase* = Tib. *yud-ćam* 'only a moment' = Skt. *nimeṣa*.

179 *ña-* 'make', older *yan-*, *tan-*, *gan-*, *yin-*, see BSOS 9. 531.

180 *vyahāra* 'vihāra, monastery', with *vya* < *vi*, cf. *va* < *u* in P 2801, 54 *paraśva rāmä* 'Paraśu Rāma'; loc. sing. P 3513, 20 r 3 *śiña vyahera* 'in one vihāra'. Cf. also in another sense of *vihāra* P 4099, 162 *brrahma-vyehāra*, JātS. 17 r 2 *brrahma-vyahāra*.

182 (1) *ñarmyarä̃* < **nirmāta-karaa-* 'builder', *ña-* < *ni* as *vya* < *vi*, see 180. P 3513, 32 r 2 *ñä'ya nirmya* 'made by magic', E *nārmān-*, *nirmāta-*.

(2) *aümäca*, 184, 'minister,' Skt. *amātya*, Pali *amacca*, Or 9609, 4 v 5 *āmākyau* instr. pl., Or 11252, 18b *āmāci*, Tib. *amacha*, *amaca* (JRAS. 1930, 72), Chin. 阿摩支 K 1, 593, 1212 *amatsi* < *ämuätśię*.

(3) *kiragara*, 185, 'working,' *-gara* < *-kara-* beside *-araa-* < *-karaa-*.

(4) *haṃgai'jara* 'summon', E *haṃggaljīndi*; *-yara*, *-ara* 2 pl. imperative.

183 *uskāskaṃma* 'with a high pile', *Suvarnabhāsa-sūtra* (ed. Konow) 35 b 5 *saṃdo vīrä uskāṣkamä haṃdrīyä* = Skt. *samunnata-* 'lofty', *haskama* < Skt. *skandha* 'heap, pile'. For *-aka-* > *ā* in compound cf. also *-ākā-* > *ā* in *śālai* 'one side' (*śä-* + *-hālai*) and *-aa-* > *ā* Ch ii 002, 15 v 2 *hiṃnä-grūṣkai vrīyau* 'red-husked rice', P 3513, 44 v 2 *ajänä-ba'jsīnä* fem. = Skt. *akṣaya-varna* 'of unfailing colour', JātS. 17 v 1 *sūjsaṃdā-jsaima* 'with burning eyes'.

184 *ūda* 'decked' > *vūda*. P 2957, 44 *be'-vūḍi* = P 2025, 149 *be-vūda* 'covered with poison'. For *ū-* and *vū-*, cf. also

[1] Sic, read *pūja*.

ūy-, *uyy-* beside *vūy-* 'survey, observe' = Skt. *avalokay-*, BSOS. 10. 910. From **ava-vṛta* (against BSOS 9.77) ?

185 *sthūpa sakhāra* 'stūpa and saṅghārāma', asyndeton, cf. P 2834, 27 *laṣṭa pāttarā* 'staff and bowl', P 2801, 24 *ạmāca hārva* 'ministers and merchants', 12 *ạmācāṃ hārvāṃ* gen. plur.

186 *aśagauṣa*, 188, 'Aśvaghoṣa,' with *aśva* assimilated to Khotanese *aśa*, older *aśśa* 'horse'.

187 *kīrāṃja* 'work-place', fem. adj. as subst. < **kīrānaa-*.

188 *ạysmīnai* 'of earth, clay', Ch 00268, 170 *uysmịnai*, Ch ii 003, 76 r 1 *āysmāśṭāña bagalaña* 'in a clay vessel', to *uysma* E 15.48 *saṃgga uysma phāna* 'stones, clay, dust', P 2893, 91 *mākṣịna vasva uysmä paherạ̄ñä*, Ch ii 002, 104 v 4 *aüysma hvarạ̄me* 'eating clay' = Skt. *mṛttikā*. Cf. OPers. *uzmayāpatiy* 'impaled'.

189 (1) *satyāprrīyä*, if not misread, *pr* has taken the place of *kr* = Skt. *satyakriyā* 'act of truth', with *-ā-* as conjunctive vowel in a Skt. compound: S 2471, 69 *āryä mạ̄ṇabhāva* 'Ārya Māṇabhāva' (BSOS. 10. 911), Ch 0047, 12 *āryāmittrai*, N 129.8 *saṃgrahāvāsta*, Ch ii 002, 105 v 2 *cirāttaihtai* = Skt. *bhūnimba*, cf. Skt. *ciratikta*, Ch ii 002, 11 r 1 *vatsāvīśa'* = Skt. *vatsa*, Ch ii 003, 60 r 3 *vatsaka-bīja*, P 2787, 80 *upāvāna* 'upavana', 32 *adạ̄kāra* 'andhakāra, darkness', P 3513, 82 r 4 *parārthācārī* beside JātS. 8 r 1 *parārthācārä*.

(2) *bạ̄na* = *bvāne* 'I may realize', with loss of *v*, cf. the inverse case of *bv* for *b*, BSOS. 10. 901.

190 (1) *caira* 'a certain; pl. some', *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* 85 b 3 *śśau baṃhyä cärä hāmäte* (= Tib. *śiṅ* 'tree') 'a certain tree is', 7 a 3 *khanau ciru yạ̄de* 'he smiled somewhat', *Vajracchedikā* 24 a 2 *āṣki cira yuḍe* = Skt. *aśrūṇi* 'some tears', E *ggūnā cira* 'certain marks'.

(2) *dīśaumaiva masāmai* 'at once on the throwing', cf. 178 supra. But *masāmai* is not clear.

191 (1) *stạ̄dai* 'thickness' < **stura-tāti-*. Three developments of the suffix *-tāti-* occur :—

(1) > *-ttātä*, *ttūśśāttātä* < **tusyakatāti-* 'emptiness', Ch ii

002, 8 r 1 *graudtā* 'heat' < **grāmatāti-*, P 2787, 163 *vasvattā* 'purity' < **avasuχta-tāti-*, (2) > *-tātā*, gen. *-tete*, *śśäratete* 'goodness', adj. *akhijandatetīnā pāga* 'power of not becoming weary'; (3) voiced *-dātā*, *-dā*; *-detu*, *-de*, *rrundetu* acc. sing. 'light', *rrumḍā*, *rrumḍe* gen. sing. < **rauχšnatāti-*, *stūḍai* < **sturatāti-*, Kha 1. 58a, 1 b 1 *tt́iḍātā o ṣūḍātā*[1] 'sharpness or saltness' < **ttīratāti-*, **ṣūra-tāti-*, *śśāḍye* 'goodness', *buysde* in Or 11252, 37 a 4: *2 tsuna buysde* '2 inches' length', Ch ii 002, 102 r 5 *bu'śde' pajsa ho'śä'* 'in length five fingers' = Tib. *srid-du sor lṅa*, P 2787, 191 *bvai'śdai*. Similarly Ch ii 002, 145 v 1 *ttaude u hemḍe jsa haphva* 'with heat and redness', < **tafta-tāti-*, **hātāna-tāti-* = Skt. 81 r 1 *dāha-rāgaiś ca*. Here also belongs *vaśu'de* in *Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra* 12 a 2 *cu bura anvaśte vaśu'de biśī janīdā āysdai yanāre* 'whatever difficulty and ill there be, they destroy all for him, they watch over him', where *vaśu'de* 'badness' is from **viśūna-tāti-*.

(2) *prrabaibai'* 'image', E *pratābimbai*, Skt. *pratibimba*, see BSOS. 10. 904.

[1] *ṣūra* ought to stand for *pūra* in E 17.53 *ūtca samudru ekaraysa pūra*.

Ctesias on Indian Manna

By E. H. JOHNSTON

LITTLE attention has been paid by Sanskrit scholars to the fragments of Ctesias's account of India since McCrindle brought out a translation of them in the *Indian Antiquary*, x, 296–323,[1] but, though later classical writers chose their excerpts almost entirely for their "news-value" as fairy tales of a distant and little-known land, it is to be hoped that they will be re-examined when Dr. F. Jacoby's new edition is published.[2] This paper attempts to show that such an inquiry might well prove instructive, particularly with regard to Greek methods of reporting Indian names.

A new version of the passage selected for discussion here was discovered by Maas in a work by a Byzantine writer called Michael Psellos and was published by him in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 32, 303–6. Psellos, whose date is some two centuries later than that of Photios, our principal authority for Ctesias, appears, however, to have made his extract independently. The portion now in question corresponds to McCrindle's fragment i, 19, and may be translated as follows, omitting the last sentence about the fruit which in my view refers to a different tree,[3]

[1] Reprinted as a separate volume, Calcutta, 1882. An English translation of Lassen's full notice of Ctesias is given in both places.

[2] Dr. Jacoby kindly read through this paper in draft, and his criticisms have, I hope, freed it from statements to which classical scholars would take objection. I am also indebted to him for most of the references to classical literature. I have also greatly profited by discussion with Dr. Maas.

[3] The tree here, whose fruit hangs in bunches like grapes and looks like the Pontic nut, may well be, as suggested to me by Professor Champion of the Imperial Forestry Institute, the Soap Nut, *Sapindus Mukorossi*. That in McCrindle's i, 21, must be the *ḍhāk* or *palāś*, *Butea Frondosa*, and the tree in i, 22, whose fruit is dried and exported for sale, is probably the *ber* plum, *Zizyphus Jujuba*, or less probably the apricot, which may not have been known then in the Himalayas and which as a Caucasian tree should have been familiar to the Persians.

and adding in brackets the further words given in Photios's summary :—

"In India there flows a river, (not a great one but) two stadia in breadth and called Spabaros (in the Indian language), which in Greek is called "bearing all things good". This, he says, carries down *électros* for 30 days in the year. They say that the river is overhung by a mountain, having great trees on it,[1] from which tears drop into the river. On dropping they congeal and become *électros*. The name for these trees (in the Indian language) is *zētacora*, in Greek 'sweet'."[2]

The use of the word *électros*, properly "amber", is curious and is ingeniously explained by Kiessling[3] on the theory that Ctesias was trying to show that he had solved a problem which had defeated Herodotus, the latter having had to admit that he could not identify the river Eridanos, the fabled source of amber. Here, however, it must indicate some hard resin-like substance, and the emphasis on its sweetness, repeated again in McCrindle's fragment i, 22, shows that we must search for it among the saccharine exudations obtained from certain plants and trees and known generally as manna. A good description of this substance is given in Watt's *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, v, 165–7, s. manna, which modifies the preliminary account appearing, ibid., iii, 442 4, s. *Fraxinus Ornus*.[4] The variety now sold in India is an import, called by the Persian name of *shīrkhisht*. Ctesias's description enables us to identify his kind more exactly. It is a natural exudation from the tree, not a product

[1] Photios puts it, more accurately perhaps except for the omission of the important epithet "great" of the trees, "in the mountains there are trees overhanging the river."

[2] γλυκὺ ἡδὺ in Photios, but γλυκὺ only in Psellos.

[3] Pauly Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopadie*, ix, 329–330, s. Hypobarus. In this interesting article Kiessling takes the view, which I share, that Ctesias has mixed up several different trees.

[4] For a parallel with Ctesias's wording note Watt's quotation, iii, 443, from *Flückiger* and Hanbury, describing the *shirkhisht* of the bazaars as "in irregular roundish tears, from about ¼ inch up to ¾ inch in greatest length".

of incision. The tree itself is large, though most manna-giving trees appear to be small, and it grows in mountains, which should be the Himalayas according to Kiessling in the article quoted above and to the identification of the river proposed below. The exudation is sporadic, not regular. These limitations point to a small group, of which the conifers are the most important. Under *Pinus Excelsa* Watt remarks, op. cit., vi, 239, "In certain dry winter seasons its leaves and twigs, together with those of the deodar, *Pinus Longifolia*, and a few other trees not conifers, become covered with a copious sweet exudation. . . . The 'Manna' thus found is collected and eaten by Natives, and is said to have been used in Bashahr for adulterating honey."

To determine which of these trees is meant, Ctesias's name must be examined. The variants, besides the *zétacora* of Psellos, are (1) in the *Bibliotheca* of Photios (ed. Bekker) at one passage, p. 47 *b*15, *siptachôra* in the better MS. and *sipachora* in the lesser MSS., and at the second passage, p. 48 *a*9, *siptachorou* (genitive perhaps of *siptachora*) in all MSS., (2) *psitthachora* in Pliny's *Natural History*, xxxvii, 39, in the best MS., and *aptachora* and *aphytacora* in the younger MSS. The modern editions of Pliny give the first reading, from which as early as 1741 Hardouin had deduced an original *siptachora*; the explanation presumably is that the scribe confused it with the much better known word *psittacus*, "parrot," and that the *h* in *tth* may be safely neglected. For the second half of the word the balance of evidence is in favour of *chora* or possibly *chôra*, and in view of Ctesias's translation, "sweet," I have no hesitation in equating it with Prakrit *khāra*, Sanskrit *kṣāra*. Though best known in the sense of "potash" and the like, it is used at *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, ii, 15, 15, as the generic name for saccharine substances. The name of the tree, if present, must therefore be in the first half. Psellos's *z* would stand for a soft palatal, as in Ozênê, but the other variants make *s* certain, which gives *c*, as in Sandra for Candra, Semylla for Cemūla. The

following vowel should be ī,[1] and the second syllable must contain *ta*, either cerebral or dental, which may or may not have been preceded by *p*. If we compare this with the modern names of the Himalayan trees mentioned above, we are at once struck with the likeness to the name *chir* for the pine. The correct form in Western Hindi is *cīḍ*, and the oldest form known to the dictionaries is the Jaina *cīḍa*, given in the *Abhidhānarājendra*; but, though it is omitted in the Sanskrit dictionaries, the *Bower MS.*, p. 65, l. 856, has the form *cīḍā* in a passage describing the preparation of turpentine from its wood. Hoernle's note 340, p. 158, leads to the inference that this word should be restored in an account of the same formula in the *Carakasaṃhitā*, where the printed editions read *eḍā* and *viḍa* respectively. What we require, however, is a Prakrit word with *ṭ* for *ḍ*, and I would suggest that the Persians heard the name in one of the North-Western dialects which substitute hard consonants for soft; that this is probable in itself appears from Watt's mention of *chiti* (i.e. *ciṭi*) among the many names current for the pine in the Panjab. I conclude accordingly that Ctesias originally wrote *σιταχορα*,[2] a transliteration of *cīṭākhāra*, "pine-sugar."

Thus leaves the name of the river for determination. If the identification with the manna of the Himalayan pine is correct, a river flowing from these mountains must be sought, either one of those in the Panjab or the Ganges or the Jumna. The forms vary considerably, Hyparchos (a confusion apparently with the word meaning "sub-governor") in Photios, Spabaros in Psellos, Hypobarus in Pliny, and Hyaporos ("swine-ford") in Nonnus, who as a poet would have to make something intelligible to Greeks out of a "barbarian" name. W. Schulze in a note to Maas's article

[1] Psellos's *ε* may be due to the confusion of *ι* and *ε*, a widespread phenomenon, but this depends on whether the MSS. of Psellos show other examples of the same confusion.

[2] Or possibly *σιταχωρα*, but I should expect Indian *ā* before *r* and *l* to be transliterated by *ο* rather than by *ω*.

quoted above shows that the variants go back to an original reading Hyspabaros, transliterating an Old Persian word Vispabara, "bearing everything." His conclusion appears sound and has been accepted by P. Kretschmer.[1] The Sanskrit equivalent of Vispabara would be Viśvambharā, a name which, so far as I can ascertain, has never been applied to any Indian river, and what is required is not an extremely rare Indian name but a current one, such as the Persians might have heard in India. Schulze would get over this difficulty by the suggestion that the name in question was one which sounded to Persian ears like Vispabara. If so, Ctesias's translation must be thrown overboard and his use of the word "good" has to be taken as merely a gloss. The latter assumption is not impossible, since Dr. Jacoby informs me that *panta agatha* is a common cliché both in the Greek comedies and in everyday life and might have been used by Ctesias without special intention.

Another word gives a clue to Ctesias's methods in handling Persian names; for he states that the tiger is called *martichora*, in Greek "maneater". This is correctly derived in the new edition of Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon* from Old Persian *martia*, "man," and the Iranian root *khvar*, "eat," known from the Avesta and from modern Persian. This is obviously not an attempt to find a meaning for a similar-sounding Indian name for tiger, but the real name used by the Persians. *Martya* could hardly appear for "man" in a Sanskrit compound and, so far as I can see, there is no old word in Sanskrit meaning "maneater", which is used as a name of the tiger; the various words with that sense are only applied to Rākṣasas and other such beings addicted to cannibalism. We are faced, therefore, with two alternatives. Either *martiakhvar* is the Persian name and bears no relationship to any Indian word for tiger, or it is an attempt to render an Indian word by one of the fanciful derivations common

[1] *Glotta* (1936), 24, 220.

among Indian grammarians. This latter process, as I explained elsewhere,[1] can be traced in Ptolemy's translations of the mountain names, Pāriyātra and Pāripātra. The two old Sanskrit words for tiger are *vyāghra* and *śārdūla*; the former is taken by Yāska, *Nirukta*, iii, 18, to *vi* + *ā* + *ghrā*, and while there is no old derivation for the latter, Ujjvaladatta on *Uṇādisūtras*, iv, 90, and Kṣīrasvāmin on the *Amarakośa* derive it from the root *śṝ*. Neither derivation takes us back to "maneater", and it seems that *martiakhvar* is simply the Old Persian name for tiger, and a very natural one, without an Indian equivalent.

Applying these two principles to Vispabara, it seems difficult to suppose that the Persians should have invented such a name without reference to Indian nomenclature. For the other alternative I can find nothing at all satisfactory in the river names of the Panjab. The nearest approach was Vitastā, taking it, not to *tas*, as Indian grammarians do,[2] but to *tams* in the doubtful sense of "fulfilling" a wish, based on a single passage, *Ṛgveda*, iv, 23, 5, whose precise meaning is uncertain, and that evidently will not do. Moreover, Pliny's remark, presumably based on Ctesias, that the Hypobarus flows from the north into the Eastern Ocean suggests that he understood it to be either the Jumna or Ganges; Kiessling in the article quoted deduces in fact from Pliny that it must be the Ganges. No name of the Jumna fits, and we are left with the three old names of the Ganges, Gaṅgā, Jāhnavī, and Bhāgīrathī. The first two are hopeless, but the last seems to me to contain what we want and would be very suitable if, as is sometimes stated, it is the proper name for the upper course of the river.[3] Every Indian

[1] *JRAS.*, 1941, 216.

[2] *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* (ed. Liebich), 135.

[3] I have been unable to find any authority for this in Sanskrit literature. The statements seem to go back to Lassen's description, *Indische Altertumskunde*, i, 49 (63 in second ed.), taken from modern sources, of the three streams in the Himalayas whose confluence forms the Ganges. The most holy of them, and the one usually known as the Ganges, is the Bhāgīrathī, the other two being the Jāhnavī and the Alakānanda.

grammarian, rightly perhaps, would have taken Bhagīratha to *bhagin* and *ratha*,[1] "having a chariot that has good fortune," and the name Bhāgīrathī would thus inevitably be explained to a foreigner as meaning "the river that brings good fortune", which is identical in sense with Ctesias's translation. I would therefore equate Vispabara and Bhāgīrathī, holding that Vispabara was probably the name current for the Ganges in Achæmenian Persia and that Ctesias's informant knew how it should be interpreted.

[1] Cf. the Tibetan translation of Bhagīratha, *skal-ldan śiṅ-rta*.

Non-Muslim Subjects of the Muslim State

By A. S. TRITTON

THE law books tell how the state should treat its subjects who were not of the Muslim faith, the *dhimmis*; it does not follow that the laws were observed.[1]

Trade

Mālik did not approve of their engaging in trade.[2] One, trading in his own town, paid only his share of the tribute; if he took some of his capital to another town, he paid tithe on what he bought but not on his sales; if he took goods, he paid only on his sales. A public carrier paid tithe on his hire at the start of a journey; he paid at the end of it only when he got a return load.[3] The tithe paid by a *dhimmi* was double that paid by a Muslim. A Muslim must not have one as partner, neither lend to one nor borrow from one, nor employ one as agent though he may employ a *dhimmi* slave as money changer.[4] They may practise usury among themselves; otherwise they are ruled by Muslim commercial law.[5] Easter must not be used as a date in contracts.[6]

Al-Shāfi'i held that no penalty attached to the Muslim who destroyed wine belonging to a *dhimmi*; Mālik said that he must pay its value.[7]

Land

A Muslim ought not to rent land from a *dhimmi* paying a share of the crop as rent; a *dhimmi* may rent land in this way from a Muslim, but he must not produce wine. Mālik did not approve of a Muslim renting land from a *dhimmi*, though Abū Ḥanīfa saw no harm in it so long as no wine was made.[8]

[1] References are to *al-mudawwana* unless otherwise stated. Schacht and Kern respectively refer to the fragments of al-Ṭabarī's *ikhtilāf al-fuqahā* edited by them.

[2] 3, 94. [3] 1, 340. [4] 3, 94. [5] 3, 287. [6] *kitāb al-umm* 3, 84.
[7] Kern 1, 100. [8] 4, 11. 3, 475.

When a *dhimmi* is part owner of a house with a Muslim, he has the right of pre-emption.[1] When one pulls down a house and turns the site into a garden it is liable to land tax.[2] When one buys from a Taghlibi land, which pays the double tithe, it is subject to land tax.[3] A Muslim must not sell his house to be turned into a church or a sheep to be used as a sacrifice.[4]

Religion

Muslims, even women, should kill their own sacrifice and not ask a *dhimmi* to kill it.[5] Sacrifices in fulfilment of vows and religious alms should not be given to *dhimmis*.[6] Mālik did not approve of Muslims eating animals killed by *dhimmis* for their feasts.[7] In Spain the Ibāḍis did not eat the food of the *dhimmis*.[8] *Dhimmis* were allowed to pray for rain.[9] They were not supposed to enter mosques, but they did so because it was not fitting to ask anyone in a mosque what his religion was.[10]

It is recorded of a Muslim that he was always the first to greet a *dhimmi* with the words, "Peace be upon you," because peace was the mark of a Muslim and he wished it to be known that he was one. Against this practice was set the tradition, "Be not the first to salute a Jew."[11]

Mālik allowed a *dhimmi* to act as slaughterer; the beasts must be slaughtered in the Muslim manner.[12]

Inheritance

If the creditors of an estate are *dhimmis* and their claims are on the same legal footing, they are paid as the estate allows without preference.[13] Should there be a dispute about the estate of a *dhimmi*, decision must be according to Muslim law; if this is not accepted, the parties must settle their own differences.[14] A Muslim cannot make a will in favour of a *dhimmi*.[15]

[1] 4, 206. [2] Schacht 226. [3] Schacht 224. [4] 3, 399.
[5] 1, 429. [6] 1, 258. [7] 1, 417. [8] Ibn Ḥazm 4, 189.
[9] 1, 153. [10] Ghazālī, *Iḥyā* 2, 201, *kitāb al-umm* 4, 126.
[11] Ibn Sa'd 6, 203; 4, ii, 71. [12] 1, 429, *kitāb al-umm* 4, 126.
[13] *uṣūl al-dīn* 201. [14] 3, 88. [15] 4, 251.

Marriage

A married pair turn Muslim; if the bride price has not been given, the man must pay it, or the couple are divorced.[1] The wife turns Muslim, but the husband does not. She is divorced automatically; if the marriage has been consummated, she gets the bride price; if not, she gets nothing.[2] The wife of a *dhimmi* turns Muslim while her husband is absent on a journey. If his absence is to be short, she must wait for his return; if it is to be long, she may marry a Muslim without waiting for her former husband's return.[3]

The *dhimmi* widow of a Muslim is subject to the same restrictions as the Muslim.[4] Slandering the *dhimmi* wife of a Muslim is as bad as slandering a Muslim wife.[5] Mālik did not approve of Muslims marrying *dhimmis* (though this often happened) or of *dhimmi* women being employed as foster-mothers or nurses for Muslim children.[6] If a *dhimmi* marries a Muslim woman with the consent of her parents, all are punished; if he obtains the marriage by pretending to be a Muslim, the marriage is not valid.[7] A *dhimmi* cannot arrange a marriage for a Muslim woman nor can a Muslim arrange one for his *dhimmi* sister.[8]

A Muslim owner can marry *dhimmi* slaves to each other.[9]

Slaves

A *dhimmi* buys or is given a Muslim slave; the transaction is valid, but the slave must be sold to a Muslim, and the price given to the *dhimmi*.[10] A Muslim must not force the children of his slaves to turn Muslim, and he should not prevent a Christian slave from drinking wine, eating pork, buying or selling either, or from going to church.[11] Conversion frees the female slave who has borne a child to her *dhimmi* master but the children remain slaves till his death.[12] If a slave turns Muslim, and his wife does not, the children may be sold with the mother.[13]

[1] 2, 201. [2] 4, 236; 2, 179. [3] 4, 236. [4] 2, 76. [5] 4, 390.
[6] 2, 294. [7] 4, 211 f. [8] 2, 150. [9] 2, 220. [10] 3, 22. 281 f.
[11] 3, 145 [12] 3, 22. 46. [13] 3, 280.

The *mukātib* (slave who has contracted to buy his own freedom) of a *dhimmī* turns Muslim; he must be sold. When he attains his freedom, he becomes the client of the community or, according to another view, of his master if he has also become a Muslim. The *mukātib* of a *dhimmī*, if recaptured from an enemy, is restored to his master.[1] The *mudabbir* (slave who has been promised his freedom at his master's death) of a *dhimmī* turns Muslim; he becomes a paid servant.[2] He turns Muslim and is killed or hurt; his master takes the blood-money.[3] He may be given as slave to one whom he has injured.[4]

War

A *dhimmi*, who refuses tribute or goes over to the enemy and is captured, is booty.[5] One, who is recaptured from the enemy, is in the same position as a Muslim.[6] Al-Awzā'i taught that a *dhimmi* soldier got his share of the booty like a Muslim, and could keep the arms of any he killed in single combat.[7] Al-Shāfi'i held that he was in the position of a Muslim boy or woman; he got no booty, only pay.[8] He could not grant protection in the name of the Muslim community.[9]

Al-Awzā'i did not allow a *dhimmi* to buy young Greek prisoners of war, but let him purchase adults who had refused Islam.[10] Abū Ḥanifa allowed one to buy adult captives or children with their parents.[11]

An enemy subject in Muslim lands, who kills or cripples a *dhimmi*, suffers retaliation; a *dhimmi*, who kills or cripples an enemy subject does not suffer retaliation, but pays compensation.[12] Al-Awzā'i held that a Muslim prisoner might be ransomed by the surrender of a *dhimmi* if the latter agreed; Abū Ḥanifa and al-Shāfi'i did not take this view.[13]

[1] 3, 21–3. [2] 3, 46. [3] 3, 458. [4] 3, 463. [5] 1, 381.
[6] 1, 378. Schacht 192. [7] Schacht 121, 114.
[8] Schacht 136. *kitāb al-umm* 4, 177. [9] Ibn Sa'd 5, 259.
[10] Schacht 142. [11] Schacht 144. [12] Schacht 57. [13] Schacht 186.

Clothes

Muslims may wear clothes made by *dhimmis*, but at prayer they must not wear clothes or shoes belonging to a *dhimmi* unless they have been washed.[1] Water, which has been used by a *dhimmi*, must not be used for ablutions.[2]

Muslims may hunt with dogs trained by Magians. An animal slaughtered by the son of a Christian father and a Magian mother may be eaten, but game caught by him may not.[3]

Tribute

Al-Shāfi'i said that from one-half to two-thirds of a man's property might be taken as tribute.[4] Some held that tribute might be paid in the local currency and treasury money could not be demanded, though it were more valuable.[5]

Homicide

A Muslim has to pay blood-money for killing a *dhimmi* by accident. If several Muslims hurt one by accident, blood-money is paid by the *'āqila* (the group of relatives which normally pays or receives blood-money); if intentionally, the criminals pay.[6] Abū Ḥanīfa held that a Muslim might suffer retaliation for injuries inflicted on a *dhimmi*.[7]

The Muslims were suspicious, as this quotation shows :—

Christians and Jews write documents saying that treasure is buried in a certain mosque or in a Muslim's house. They doctor them to make them look old, and put them where a powerful man will find them. In this way many mosques and Muslim houses are destroyed. That Christian or Jewish buildings are seldom destroyed by these means is proof that they are the authors of this evil.[8]

[1] 1, 40. [2] 1, 14. [3] 1, 417. [4] Schacht 229. [5] Schacht 232.
[6] 4, 480. [7] *Uṣūl al-dīn* 199. [8] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *madkhal* 3, 142 f.

A Note on Persian Grammar

By M. MINOVI

Plural Subjects and Singular Verbs

I REMEMBER when I was quite young, one day I heard a boy shout out to his mother :

نه، برنجها ریختند توی آستیم

and the mother immediately corrected him by saying, "The rice is not a human being, برنج آدم نیست, you must say برنجها ریخت".

This is the general rule. But there are exceptions, and that is not so easy to explain ; there is no written rule on the subject ; education and surroundings, books read and foreign languages studied, all may influence the natural ways of a speaker or a writer. About eighteen or nineteen years ago I myself had to write to Mirzā Muḥammad Khān of Qazvīn, then in Paris, and ask him to enlighten me on this subject. He had written an article on the دورهٔ تاریخ عمومی by 'A. Iqbāl in the periodical ایرانشهر [the article was subsequently published again in the first volume of the بیست مقاله], and in praising the author for a style free from all sorts of grammatical mistakes, he had discussed this point, and shown, by numerous quotations, how wrong it was to use plural verbs for plural or several subjects in Persian, if the subjects be inanimate or abstract nouns.

Having come across many verses in the works of our best poets in which this rule had been neglected, I wrote to Qazvīnī and asked a dozen questions, including this one. He immediately answered three or four of my questions, but left the answer to the others to some future date. Three years later, when I saw him in Paris, he *showed* me the draft of the answer he had prepared, and it was like one of those mighty files in a solicitor's office, but it was never rewritten

and sent to me, and I still don't know what he had written.

My own studies have, to some extent, but not entirely, cleared the case for me. More often than not, however, I have to depend on my ears. *If* the sentence "*sounds* all right", then it is right! There are times when a singular verb for a plural subject comes natural even though the subject is a human being, for instance: "دو هزار نفر سرباز بمدد وی فرستاده شد", or even "رسید . . .". But this cannot be explained in such a way that those to whom Persian is not natal could exercise their own judgment. It seems to me that the logical and normal rule depends on the spirit of the verb: if the action is the result of an external power evident to both the speaker and his interlocutor, then the verb is singular though the apparent subject is plural and animate: صد فیل از هند رسید or همینکه فیلها از هند رسید—and if the action is attributed to the apparent subject in such a way as to eliminate the intervention of the external power, then the verb must be plural for the inanimate too: سنگها از هم میترکیدند و بر یکدیگر میغلطیدند . . . Another way of explaining this peculiarity is: If an action is attributed to an inanimate plural, or a number of inanimate subjects, whether abstract nouns or concrete nouns, which action is the peculiarity of human beings, needs will and power of reasoning, or suggests a personality for the subject, then the plural verb is used. Our guide in these matters is the use of great writers and poets whom we consider the shapers of the language, and whom we consider free from the influence of foreign elements. I propose, therefore, to quote as many instances of this kind as I can get hold of, and explain each case if necessary. Khâqânî says:—

1. از بهر آنکه نامه بر تعزیت شوند
شام و سحر دو یک کبوتر شتاب شد

گفتم بگوش صبح که این چشم زخم چیست 2.
کشکال وحال چرخ چنین ناصواب شد

از بس کرم که دست و زبان تو کرده‌اند 3.
دستم ثنانویس و زبان سحرکار نیست

انشاءالله که فتح و نصرت بارایت تو کند پیوند 4.

In No. 1 نامه بر شدن is a voluntary action, but both in No. 1 and No. 2 the change in the form of Evening and Morning, and Shapes and State of the world, was not voluntary.

Anvari says :—

چشم و دل من که هرچه گویم هستند
در خصمیء من عشورت بنشستند
اوّل پایم بر در غم بشکستند
وآخر دستم زبی‌غمی بربستند.

Here the Eye and the Heart have been personified, and are spoken of as if they were doing these things intentionally.

'Imādi says :—

مقصد آسمان، جلال الدّین، که دودستش زجود بارورند
آفرین باد بر دل و رایت که شب مشکلات را سحرند
معتبر نیست سال در مسند بذل دینار و رای معتبرند
دست و رایت چو صبحدم هستند
تا گریبان آسمان بدرند
در تمنّای تو عمادی‌را آب‌چشم و خروش ماحضرند

To my ear the lines 3 and 5 sound incorrect: معتبراست and ماحضراست should have been said, but the rhyme has compelled the poet to this irregularity, and ضرورتِ شعری

is his excuse. In the other lines personality and willfulness of the subjects are suggested, and even to-day we say درختان باردار شده‌اند , as if the trees are pregnant women.

'Abd-ul-Wási' Jabali says :—

آثار تو در دین حنیف‌اند قواعد

افعال تو در ملک منیف‌اند قوانین

Wrong, definitely wrong! قانون بودن and قاعده بودن of آثار and افعال are in no way in need of a plural.

Kamál-ud-din Ismá'íl says :—

1. درتنگنای خانهٔ دلها بعاشش

اندوه و رنج و محنت بام نشسته‌اند

گفتی که فضل و دانش و معنی کجا شدند ؟

جود و کرم نماند و عالم نشسته‌اند

Here these abstract nouns are personified. In the last hemistich if the verb مردن had been used for جود و کرم, then مرده‌اند would be necessary, but that would not scan, therefore a "non-committal" verb, نماند, is used. Again he says :—

2. چشمهای من که میجستند دیدارش درآب

همچو غوّاصان زدریا پرگهر بازآمدند

شرم بادم از حیات خود که بی دیدار او

دردل من آرزوی خیر و شرّ بازآمدند

سخت جانی بیش ازین چبود که در جانی چنین

خاطر و طبعم باشعار و سمر بازآمدند

As will be noticed, in the fourth hemistich, a plural verb

is used for a singular subject. Definitely wrong, but the poet might say, I meant آرزوی شرّ and آرزوی خیر ; or, I was too much absorbed in sorrow for the death of my son to think of subject and verb !

Sa'dī says :—

1. دهان غنچه بدرّد نسیم باد صبا
لبان لعل تو وقتی که ابتسام کنند

2. همه سروهارا باید خمید که درپای آن سروبالا روند

3. هزار سرو خرامان براستی نرسد
بقامت تو، وگر سر برآسمان سایند

4. اختراني که بشب درنظر ما آیند
پیش خورشید محالست که پیدا آیند

5. بگیر جامهٔ صوفی، بیار جام شراب،
که نیکنامی و مستی بهم نیامیزند

6. ابر و باد و مه وخورشید و فلك درکارند
تاتو نانی بکف آری و بغفلت نخوری

7. گلبنان پیرایه برخود بسته‌اند
بلبلان را در سماع آورده‌اند
خیمه بیرون بر که فرّاشان باد[1]
فرش دیبا درچمن گسترده‌اند
تاجبان بودست جمّاشان گل[1]
از سلحداران خار آزرده‌اند

[1] In the case of these two, the personification is complete, as فرّاشان and جمّاشان could be none but human beings.

8. باقامت بلند صنوبر خرامشان
سرو بلند و کاج بشوخی چمیدهاند

9. یکی درخت گل اندر فضای خلوت ماست
که سروهای چمن پیش قامتش پستند

10. ور نگفتندی چه حاجت ، کاب چشم و رنگ روی
ماجرای عشق از اول تاپایان گفتهاند

11. . . . زلف وروی تو دراسلام صلیب و صنمند[1]
حرفهای خط موزون تو پیرامن روی
گوئی از مشک سیه برگل سوری رقند[1]
درچمن سرو ستادست و صنوبر خاموش
که اگر قامت زیبا نمائی بجمند
(or نمائی بجهند)
. . . گنج و مار و گل و خار و غم وشادی بهمند .

Khwājū says :—

1. طرّهای تو کمندافکن طرّارانند
غمزهای تو طبیب دل بیمارانند

2. گوشهای باغ زآب چشم ابر خندها بر چشمهای ما زدند

Hāfiz says :—

1. دانی که چنگ و عود چه تقریر میکنند؟

2. گلذارکن چو صابر بنفشهزار و بین
که از تطاول زلفت چه سوگوارانند[2]

[1] These two verbs seem to be wrong, as there is no justification for plural. But grammatical errors have been found even in the Qur'ān.

[2] Although the subject is not mentioned, the Violets in بنفشهزار are meant.

3. . . . ماه و خورشید همین آینه میگرداند

. . . عقل وجان گوهر هستی بنثار افشاند

4. گفتم کی ام دهان و لبت کامران کنند

گفتا بچشم، هرچه توگوئی چنان کنند

گفتم که خواجه کی بسر حجله میرود

گفت آنزمان که مشتری و مه قران کنند

5. همت حافظ و انفاس سحرخیزان بود[1]

که ز بند غم ایام نجاتم دادند

In the تاریخ قم, a Persian translation made in the years 805 and 806 A.H. from an Arabic original, this sentence comes :—

و بعضی از مشایخ گفتند که این حکایات و روایات درست اند

which is definitely wrong.

Coming to present time, we ourselves in our broadcasts use such sentences as these :

بمب افکنهای انگلیسی بر مواضع دشمن درفرانسه حمله بردند.

هواپیماهای جنگندهٔ امریکا سرراه بر مهاجمین گرفتند.

As "to attack" and "to intercept" are acts that need will, and besides, it is really the air crew who do the job. But we never say و بیست بمب درست روی کشتی افتادند but افتاد.

[1] Here, بودن is "non-committal" as it is not the peculiarity of persons with soul and will; but نجات دادن is a voluntary action. "It was this and that, that did so."

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

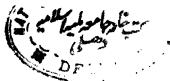
SIAM AND PENANG IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The School of Oriental and African Studies possesses in its Library a collection of fifty-nine Siamese letters and documents (Access. No. 12157) obtained by William Marsden during or after his residence in Sumatra (1771–9). By far the greater number of these letters are from the Governor of Talang in the island of Puket to the Governor of Penang, who is not mentioned by name, but is almost certainly Captain Francis Light. The latter's name appears on the back of one receipt given to Captain J. A. Scott; and a native Siamese primer attached to the collection bears on its last page his signature, *Frans. Light* and on its flyleaf the somewhat obscurely worded and ungrammatical sentences *Ex dono. Domino Francisco Light gubernator Navi Bristola et est commune in Insula Junk selon. accepi urbe Mauri Chenapatam, seu Madrastæ.* 14 *Julii* 1778. *G. Perry.* A few letters are from governors of other Siamese towns, Patalung, Puket, and Trang.

The letters are entirely devoted to matters of trade. The Siamese ask for arms, ammunition, cloth, rice, and opium, and in exchange they provide tin. Frequent mention is made of attacks by the Burmese on Talang and other places, and of the ruin thus brought upon the peasants. It is to repel these attacks that arms and ammunition are required, while the rice is usually to make up the deficiency caused by the Burmese depredations. The cloths required are often by order of the King of Siam, and are to be sent to Bangkok sometimes for presentation purposes. As is customary, no dated year is mentioned by the Siamese, but the year 1791 is occasionally written on the back of a letter, and probably most of them were written between 1782 and 1791, since the capital

mentioned is usually Bangkok. Reference, however, is in rare instances made to Ayudhya as the capital, and in such cases the letter should be dated earlier than 1782.

Relations between the Siamese and the English seem on, the whole to have been very amicable; but on one occasion the Governor of Talang complains that Captain Wilson, after selling rice and opium to him at certain prices, was selling the same goods to the public at lower prices, and he requests that, if good relations are to continue, he should be ordered to discontinue this practice. On another occasion the Governor writes that he is glad to hear a certain rebellion against Penang has been a failure. A letter from the Governor of Patalung is interesting, since he states that the Burmese had hired French troops to attack Saiburi and Talang. There is also a letter from the Minister of War stating that Tavoy had surrendered, and that an army was being sent to subdue Mergui, Moulmein, Rangoon, and even as far as Ava, and he asks for arms and rice to supply this army.

REGINALD LE MAY.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Rabindranath Tagore, 1861-1941

At 3.15 p.m. on Thursday, 12th February, with Sir Atul Chatterjee in the chair, Mr. Edward Thompson gave members of the Society and of the Royal Central Asian Society a fascinating interpretation of the work of Rabindranath Tagore, whom he knew so well. Parodying the words of George III on Gibbon, Tagore once said of himself that if not a luminous poet he was voluminous, and his output in poetry, drama, and fiction was huge. Even in the early twenties he knew himself destined to be a great poet. Family interests then turned him into a most competent business man and he was never the mawkish mystic some European admirers have sought to make him. The salient feature of his poetry was its marvellous expression of every mood and change in nature. Tagore constantly used colloquialisms that were anathema to Bengali purists and hard to render into another tongue. In any case to capture the magic of his verse in translation was impossible, and the only one of his works that was at all adequately rendered into English was *Gitanjali*. An ardent patriot, Tagore was also a man of immense courage and as frank in criticism of his own people as of Europeans. As a young poet he ridiculed the "Aryan" pretensions derived from Max Muller's German workshop and declared that to achieve greatness Indians must eradicate certain flaws from their civilization. He dreaded the world effects of exaggerated nationalism and when the poet Noguchi invoked his blessings on the civilizing work of Japan in China Tagore replied in words of flaming scorn. He foresaw, too, the evils that mechanization would bring, making men the tools of their own inventions. But even in those last years,

which world politics made very bitter for him, Tagore still had faith that at his best the Englishman represented the highest attainment of man.

Quick and versatile in mind, with a fund of mirth and wit, this Indian genius was never at heart the sage whose mantle adulation made him sometimes assume when "in they broke, those people of importance", looking for an idol in a very handsome old man.

In future, lists of presentations and additions to the Society's Library will be printed only in the last part of the *Journal* for the year, although reviews may appear earlier. The new system is designed to provide a yearly catalogue in a convenient form.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

ROME AND CHINA: A STUDY OF CORRELATIONS IN HISTORICAL EVENTS. By FREDERICK J. TEGGART. 9¼ × 6¼, pp. xvii + 283, maps 14. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939.

Many still believe that until recent centuries China was a solitary country, shut off from the rest of the world by geographical barriers and even more effectively by the inhabitants' resistance to outside contacts. The contrary is the truth; from earliest times there has been communication across the continent, and within historical memory the Chinese are known to have accepted foreign ideas and things with tolerance, if not always with welcome. A hermit China is a fallacy. As to ancient commercial relations, strangely little is recorded. Even the chief item of merchandise Chinese historians ignore, and we have to depend upon our own classical writers for allusions to the silk trade. Slowly archaeology is adding to the scanty information. By now enough has been gathered to prove that commerce existed on a large scale.

Professor Teggart finds it the clue to a remarkable series of correspondences which he establishes between wars in the East and in Europe. Commerce was the agency, he decides, which linked Chinese campaigns with the distant fortunes of the Roman Empire. While planning to serve their national aims, Chinese statesmen unknowingly planned uprisings on the other side of the continent. Various theories have been devised to account for barbarian invasions and migrations in Eurasia. Among the favourite is change in physical environment, such as may be caused by "climatic cycles", "progressive desiccation", or merely a succession of droughts. None of them fits Professor Teggart's series of

correspondences; for clearly the underlying factor must have been one occasioned by war itself. Interruption of commerce, an inevitable consequence of all wars, seems a plausible explanation, provided that the commerce was vital to the interests of the peoples concerned.

A period of no more than 165 years, from 58 B.C. to A.D. 107, is covered in this book, the scope of which is further limited to a single class of events, while the usual literary narrative of historians is not attempted. Thus the inquiry is simplified to one of manageable extent, and it is made with thorough and scientific method. Professor Teggart finds that during this period barbarian uprisings in Europe were preceded invariably by war either on the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire or in the "Western Regions" of the Chinese. Conversely he finds no war in the Roman East or in the Chinese "Western Regions" which was not followed by a respective outbreak in Europe. Forty such correspondences are traced, a total in itself denying chance coincidence.

This excellent work has the merit (enhanced by maps and a full bibliography) not only of discovering fresh proof of interdependence between Rome and China. It demonstrates also a principle too often forgotten. In the author's own words: "The study of the past can become effective only when it is fully recognized that all peoples have histories, that these histories run concurrently and in the same world, and that the act of comparing is the beginning of knowledge."

B. 717. W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

GLUE AND LACQUER: FOUR CAUTIONARY TALES TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE. BY HAROLD ACTON and LI YI-HSIEH. 10 × 7¾, pp. 139, pls. 5. London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1941. £2 2*s*.

These four stories are taken from a Chinese collection published, as Dr. Waley tells us in his interesting preface, in 1627 under the title of *Hsing Shih Hêng Yen* or *Common Tales to Rouse the World*.

In appraising Chinese fiction the Western reader must realise firstly that literary Chinese is so difficult that, until recently, only a negligible part of the people could read at all, and secondly that, even if learning had been more widely spread, there was very little standard literature likely to appeal to a nation of peasants.

This was without doubt the reason for the growth of the Chinese short story written in so colloquial a style that it could be read or recited to, and appreciated by, the illiterate.

The seventeenth century produced in China many short stories, most of them traditional, such as the collection from which these tales are taken. It consisted of forty stories, of which eleven were selected later, together with twenty-nine others from other books, to compose the best known of all such collections, the *Chin Ku Ch'i Kuan*. The four stories in the present volume were not among these eleven tales and are inferior to them in construction and characterization. The reason for their inclusion here seems to have been the amorous adventures with which they deal, for, in a prefatory note, Mr. Acton says, "Ju chiao ssŭ ch'i ('like glue and resembling lacquer') is a common Chinese metaphor for the closest of human intimacies." This is surely wrong. The phase is an obvious simile meaning intimacy and is used, as in English, merely to express close relationship.

Chinese short stories are often of great merit, comparing favourably with the best of contemporary fiction of other countries; but these four are not outstanding examples. The first story, dealing with the moral obliquity of Buddhist nuns (who, with monks, are always in Chinese fiction connected with scandal of some kind) is of greater interest than the other three.

The production of the book is excellent; paper, print, and binding being alike of the best and above the level of the stories themselves. The five illustrations by the late Eric Gill are beautifully engraved and will probably be held by the average reader to be well suited to the form of the book.

But they will be disappointing, if not actually ridiculous, to anyone acquainted with Chinese life, for there is nothing about them to suggest China. Illustrations by a good Chinese artist might have been more appropriate.

R. 688. E. B. HOWELL.

CHINA THEN AND NOW. By JEAN ESCARRA. 5 × 7½. Peking: Henri Vetch, 1940.

China and France have led a very happy married life, intellectually, and are nearing their fifth golden wedding. In every generation fresh offspring of this union arise and bless them. And if we, too, in England find it easier to lay hands on a good book about China than about most districts of England, as we may, it happens often that the book is a translation from the French. Here is another such. In it the author traverses the whole subject in three hundred pages. Yet no essential feature is left out. To be so concise, so clear, so fair, so comprehensive and appreciative and sensible, all at once, and all through, and on as vast a theme as could be chosen, calls for a special training as well as a special temperament. Escarra's training is twofold: in legal studies and in French prose. The two set up standards in inquiry and in exposition which are not luxuries for the historian, but fundamentals—little as that is recognized here. Whether the author is dealing with art, literature, missionaries, modernism, antiquity, linguistics, the articulate or the inarticulate, civilization or compulsion, his sense of evidence is always holding the balance and his sense of language is illuminating. This English version is probably better worth keeping than the original: the bibliography here is far fuller than any the French publishers would accept, and is a model of its kind.

One or two queries arise. One of the most illuminating writings on the literature, C. W. Luh's *On Chinese Poetry* (Peiping, 1935), seems to have been overlooked. The phrasing

of the reference to the "Destruction of the Books" suggests that the destruction was worse than the evidence warrants. The idea that French cookery is the only cookery that rivals Chinese sounds too French an idea: it can hardly be true as long as Scandinavia is Scandinavia; not to mention Poland. These queries are put only because re-issues of the book will be called for by reason of it being the best single-volume survey of Chinese affairs there is, and likely to remain so. It provides, too, an introduction to specialists' volumes, and is an example how to write a survey of any country's past and present.

B. 466. E. S. BATES.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES. By AMRY VANDENBOSCH. pp. xii + 446, with map. University California Press, U.S.A., and Cambridge University Press, England. 2nd edition, 1941. 24*s*.

This new edition of a work originally published in 1933 comes opportunely when our minds are turned so anxiously to the Pacific. The book was based on a diligent perusal of official reports and authoritative studies by Dutch experts, supplemented by local investigation; and it was very useful as a pioneer work in a field of research that writers in English had neglected. But the author had no previous acquaintance with the East, and was looking at an Eastern land through Western spectacles, focused on "clothes, shoes, soap, churches, police, law courts, hospitals, medicine, and all the other instruments and institutions of civilization"; he could see the Western superstructure, but all beneath was out of focus. The population is preponderantly rural, but despite many references to villages—which are also termed, indifferently and rather confusingly, native municipalities and communes—there is no account of the village as a whole, nor any reference to the important Java Village Regulation of 1906, which aimed at converting the Eastern village

government into a Western parish council. Mr. Vandenbosch even says (p. 128) that the administrative organisation of the village is purely indigenous. That is quite wrong. It is astonishing also that a study of administration in Netherlands India should omit all mention of its essential characteristic "gentle pressure", *perintah aloes*. In short, the book tells us a good deal about Dutch administration, without explaining how it works. This inability to see below the surface diminishes the value of many of the comments and criticisms.

One could hardly expect the author to acquire a new perspective for a new edition. But he might have done much more to supplement his former work. It is asserted that the book has been "carefully revised and brought up to date". But many new developments are overlooked. Nothing is said of the ten-year-old conversion of the schools for native officials into Middle Schools, from Osvia to Mosvia; or of the creation (1937) of Secondary Native Schools. The figures for land tenures (p. 253), income tax (p. 262), and irrigated areas (p. 268) all date from ten or more years back. One sentence has been added to the account of the government pawnshops; and that is inaccurate. The reconstitution of the popular credit system by the foundation of the General Credit Bank in 1934 is passed over in silence. The story of the co-operative movement is not carried beyond 1931; neither is that of public health. The figures for the strength of the Government Marine date from 1931. One sentence suffices for the development of aviation since 1929. Tables at the end of the book show that the author had access to the official Indian Report for 1938, from which most of these deficiencies might have been made good.

It is still less easy to excuse the perpetuation of old mistakes. To cite only a few: Hinduism had not been pushed back into Bali by 1500 (p. 32); the date of the great Reforms Commission was 1803 and not 1807 (p. 53); and it is irritating to find Daendels repeatedly called Daendals. These and other mistakes or slips have been carried over from the first

edition. So likewise have mistakes of fact as to recent or current practice. There is a reference (p. 109) to meetings of the Council of Departmental Heads; in fact, business is transacted by the circulation of minutes, and the Council never meets. It is stated (p. 137) that the office of Controleur was abolished, with no explanation that it was soon afterwards revived. We are told (p. 131, n.) that there is only one Governor for the native states in Java; again (p. 155, n.) that there are two; and again—inaccurately—that an unsuccessful attempt was made to combine the two appointments (p. 157, n.).

Thus the book cannot be recommended to the student as authoritative. But the account it gives of Dutch colonial practice will probably suffice for the ordinary reader who now has a new interest in the position of Netherlands India in world affairs. Here Mr. Vandenbosch treads with surer steps. He brings together many facts not readily accessible, and has added a valuable chapter on relations with Japan. His treatment of this part of his subject fully justifies the publication of a new edition, and it deserves, and will doubtless find, many readers.

B. 667 J. S. FURNIVALL.

Middle East

PEACOCK ANGEL. By E. S. DROWER. 9 × 5½. pp. viii + 213, plates 34. John Murray, 1941.

The author disarms criticism by making no high claims for her book. It is evident that she spent a delightful holiday and she has passed on some of her pleasure to her readers. This journal is more concerned with the account of the Yazidis. Lady Drower made no serious attempt to study their doctrines; fortune was against her as she did not meet the keeper of the shrine who might have enlightened her and she felt too much a guest to be a pertinacious inquirer. This book is a record of what she saw and heard. Some statements

contradict the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; thus the *Baba Shaikh* is said to wear a white turban and a black girdle whereas the *EI.* speaks of a white turban covered with black. The priesthood is divided into several castes and there is no intermarriage between them or between them and the laity. It is surprising to read that the laity are more fair than the priests. Every layman has an "other" brother or sister respectively chosen from a priestly family. The layman gives a yearly offering to the "other" relative whose duty it is to assist at the turning points of life, marriage, birth, and death and to give help whenever it is wanted. This relationship is held to have existed in an earlier life and will be repeated in future lives for the Yazidis believe in transmigration. There is a caste of *faqirs*; a boy born into it does not necessarily belong to it but adopts the calling voluntarily. One of the marks of the order is a sacred thread which must never be removed from the body. The *faqir* wears a woollen garment next the skin, it is named *khirqa*, like that of the Sufis, and he must not wear anything white. The functions of the *faqir* are not explained. In his presence no fighting or quarrelling is allowed; the woollen *khirqa* alone has been known to stop a fight. The conclusion reached is that the worship of nature lies behind much of the religion of the Yazidis.

B. 657. A. S. TRITTON.

SOUTH-WEST PERSIA: A POLITICAL OFFICER'S DIARY. By Sir ARNOLD WILSON. 8¾ × 5¾, pp. xi + 315. Oxford University Press, 1941.

The late Sir Arnold Wilson started his military career in the 32nd Sikhs. He was ambitious and, after passing the Higher Standard in Persian, decided to travel in Iran, as it is now called. Landing at Bandar Abbas he followed the little known route to Shiraz via Lar, mapping and writing

reports. Thence he travelled across Iran to the Caucasus and so to England.

Upon returning to India, in November, 1907, he was ordered to proceed in command of twenty men of the 18th Bengal Lancers to the site in the Karun Valley where experts were drilling for oil in connection with a company which is termed to-day the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. By the spring of 1908 some £250,000, supplied by the Burma Oil Company, had been spent and instructions had been received to close down when suddenly a "gusher" proved that success had been achieved. Anxious to inform his chief confidently of the good news, in the absence of a cypher code, the young officer aptly referred to portions of two verses in the Psalms which ran: "That he may bring out of the earth oil to make him of a cheerful countenance"; and "the flint stone into a springing well".

During this period, realizing that much of the area was unexplored, Wilson made journey after journey, not only surveying but also making friends with the peasants and the tribesmen. His reports were valuable and he also gained experience of the greatest importance.

The important discovery of oil led to much hard work under Major (later Sir Percy) Cox's direction which included the creation of a station at the oil-fields, termed Masjid-i-Sulaiman and a lease of land on the island of Abadan for the important refinery. As he wrote: "This is really the home of the world's oil industry . . . Ur of the Chaldees is locally known as Mughir or 'mother of pitch' . . . and there is a tradition that the burning fiery furnace into which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were cast was at Kirkuk, where is a lot of natural gas always alight."

The next task to be undertaken was a railway reconnaissance in mountainous Luristan. Difficulties were raised by the greedy Lur chiefs, who demanded large sums of money for serving as his escort. Indeed, throughout this journey he ran risks. However, during one skirmish, when he raised his

binocular to scan the position of the hostile tribe, a shout was raised, "*Tahism daravard*, He has cast a spell." Insisting on his arms being kept raised, his party charged home and won. Wilson naturally quoted the parallel case in Exodus.

After this expedition, which had no immediate results, Wilson was appointed Assistant to Cox and helped that truly great official to deal with German activities, and many other matters. Among them was the safeguarding of shipping in the Persian Gulf by means of lighthouses.

His last appointment was to the Turko-Persian Boundary Commission on which he was finally the Chief Commissioner. The last pillar was erected just as the World War broke out. Wilson was in camp on Turkish soil. However, by a clever ruse and a night march he crossed the frontier into Iran and finally reached England via Archangel.

Few men have accomplished so much in so short a period, but in the years which followed he was destined to render still greater services to the state. The book is published by the Oxford University Press, but it is hard to forgive their neglect to provide a map.

B. 637. P. M. SYKES.

KIZZUWATNA AND THE PROBLEM OF HITTITE GEOGRAPHY. By ALBRECHT GOETZE. (Yale Oriental Series, Researches, XXII.) New Haven, 1940.

The reconstruction of the political geography of Anatolia during the period of the Hittite kings, very hopefully attempted during the early days of the decipherment of the Hittite language written in cuneiform, has proved a matter of extreme difficulty. There are a few fixed points, but not enough, and the maps produced between 1922 and 1930 in some profusion by different scholars have been rejected one after another. One of the key problems is the position of the land which, it is not unimportant to note, was called on the Egyptian and Akkadian evidence, Kizzuwatna, with a *k* and *t* rendered

by the Semitic explosive *q* and *ṭ*, not the voiceless *k* and *t* one might expect for a Hittite name.[1] This land bordered on the territories of both the Hittites and the *Hurri*, and at least one end of that border, possibly both ends, reached the sea. The answer to the question, "Which sea?" was at first given with some confidence, owing to a wrong deduction. The sea was the Black Sea, the land of Kizzuwatna corresponded to Pontus, because a sentence was supposed to mean that iron was produced there. Many who once gave this answer, for example Professors Goetze, Garstang, and Albright, are now in favour of a location in the south, on the Mediterranean. The first to change his mind was Professor Goetze, to whom Hittite studies owe so much, and it is a matter for congratulation that he has been able to collect and present all the evidence and his deductions on this one doubtful point in a concise form, without ranging over the endless field of the contemporary political geography.

The argument, after the statement of the problem in a brief introduction, is divided into four chapters. In the first, Goetze argues that the use of the Akkadian language in the treaty between Kizzuwatna and a Hittite king shows that the land belongs to the southern group for which one version was in Akkadian. He considers the names Kizzuwatna and Kummanni are Hurrian names, an argument very insecurely based, and also adduces the evidence of personal names. The most important evidence proves that the original language of the land was "Luwian", a purely Asianic language of the Mediterranean littoral. In the second chapter the evidence that proves that (*al*)*Kummani* interchanges with (*al*)*Kizzuwatna* and was therefore situated in the land is set forth. It is probable, but cannot be proved, that Comana Cappadociae is older than the northern city. The third chapter is devoted to the references to the city Kizzuwatna, the fourth to the

[1] The Hittite *Gašpas* is rendered in Egyptian *kškš*, in Assyrian *kaškašu*, while Egyptian *ḫt*, Assyrian *ḫatti* must represent the usual rendering for the Hittite stop.

passages dealing with the land. Relevant passages are transliterated and translated; these transliterations are characterised by the same freedom in restoration that is a peculiarity of Hittite studies, a freedom that inevitably raises doubts in the mind of the lay reader. The conclusion is a summary of the results in the form of a reconstruction of the history of Kizzuwatna, showing that the known facts are all intelligible if Kizzuwatna lay round the Gulf of Issus, whereas the location on the Black Sea involves some improbable assumptions. A map summarizes Goetze's present views.

The argument remains much as it was. There is no decisive proof that Kizzuwatna lay on the Mediterranean, but several sound reasons for regarding that location as the most probable on available evidence, while no sound reason has ever yet been given for the view that it lay on the Black Sea. The suggestion may be made that the sea was inland, Lake Wan, which is not considered by Goetze; but that view, too, is impossible in view of the known facts about *Hayaša*, *Azzi*, *Išuwa*, and *Alše* on the eastern border. It is to be hoped that, now Professor Goetze has argued the case fully, no one will repeat the Black Sea hypothesis without giving good reason; his arguments cannot be dismissed in a footnote.

Goetze's treatment of certain details, however, perhaps owing to considerations of space, is sometimes peremptory. The Byzantine form Σιναρος for Σαρος need not be a corruption, and it need not be regarded as an argument against the direct derivation of the name Σαρος from *Šamra*, provided that the same river is meant by both names; it merely shows that a fricative *w*(m), suppressed in the Greek form, ultimately became a nasal, for reasons which our scant knowledge of the Asianic dialects of the Greek period do not allow us to explain. But more important is the identification of *Uršu* and *Uruššo* as Urfah, in preference to the usual identification with Arsuz. Goetze accepts this identification on the basis of arguments adduced by Güterbock

in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Neue Folge) x, pp. 136–7, without further consideration; it becomes a main point in the argument about the eastern extension of Kizzuwatna. But the arguments are not sound. The fact that the kinds of wood mentioned by Gudea, Statue B, col. iv, 53 ff., are not cedar does not prove that *Uršu* was not Arsuz, for that port was the centre of a trade in logs of many kinds; Urfah is not such a centre. The documents from Cappadocia cited by Güterbock do not prove that *Uršu* lay on the direct or usual road from *Ganiš* to the city of Ashur, and there is no proof that the usual road went past Urfah; it is rather improbable that it did not follow the Euphrates. Finally, the text *Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy*, i, no. 11, provides arguments against the identification of *Uršu* with Urfa rather than against the identification with Arsuz. It is so important for the understanding of history and geography that those reasons are worth stating here.

This fragmentary text deals with events that took place before the reign of Mursilis I, presumably in the reign of Hattusilis I or his immediate predecessor. Aleppo was then the capital of an important kingdom, called either Aleppo or Yamkhad. The beginning of the narrative, which is lost, must have related the circumstances under which a Hittite king sent an army to besiege the city *Uršu*. Some difficulty was encountered in building ramps and procuring wooden rams for the siege. The army undertook to give battle but no success was achieved. The subjects of the prince of Carchemish remained neutral, and took up a position on a mountain to look on (Obverse 23). This incident is against the identification with Urfah, for the limestone hills on the plain of Urfah hardly satisfy the wording, whereas the Jabal Akhdar would. The Hittite king sent an ambassador to secure delivery of one of the fighting towers depicted on Assyrian reliefs, and a ram. Then there is a break in the narrative, which reopens with a rebuke addressed by the Hittite king to the general in charge of the siege, and another

undertaking by the army to attack the town. But the Hittite army suffered severe losses, and the king ordered that strict blockade should be instituted to prevent communication betwen *Uršu* and the *Hurri* at Aruar and Aleppo, or Zuppa, apparently a leader of the *Hurri* somewhere else. The report of a fugitive from the city on the free movement of an ambassador from Aleppo in and out of *Uršu*, on the residence of an ambassador from Zuppa, and on the behaviour of the Hittite ambassador angered the king. At this point the text breaks off.

Owing to the fragmentary condition much must remain obscure, but certain points are sufficiently clear. There is no proof in the text that Aleppo, Carchemish, *Aššhu* (only once mentioned, in an unintelligible connection), and the *Hurri* were allied with *Uršu*, as Güterbock confidently states; indeed, it is clear that the subjects of the prince of Carchemish took no part in the war, but manned their own boundary. What is certain is that the Hittites found that both the prince of Carchemish and the prince of Aleppo were keenly interested in trading with *Uršu* (which is throughout represented as independent of any overlord), were unwilling to supply him with material for the siege and, while not declaring war, were favouring the city. Now if *Uršu* be Urfah, a glance at the map will show that though the principality of Carchemish might border on the domains of the city, it is impossible for the kingdom of Yamkhad to have done so. But if *Uršu* lay on the Gulf of Issus, both Carchemish and Aleppo would have direct access to the Beilan Pass, the one from the east, the other from the south. Similarly, if *Uršu* was Urfah, it seems extremely difficult, historically, to explain why it was an independent principality, and why all the *Hurri*, whose home land centred round the upper reaches of the Balikh and the Khabur were not interested immediately in its defence; for it is clear from the text that there was no war between the Hittites and the *Hurri*, and the people of *Uršu* are not called *Hurri*. But if *Uršu* is Arsus, there is no

reason to find any difficulty; the northern part of Kizzuwatna was in the hands of the Hittites, and this reduction of the southern port, which controlled the gulf and the Beilan Pass, was a preliminary to the subsequent attack on the Syrian states. Finally, there is an *argumentum ex silentio*. The Hittite king's speech should mention the primary intention of the blockade of an inland city, to starve the citizens out. The absence of such mention, the insistence simply on the need to prevent political communications, should show that there was no hope of starving the city; that points to a port, and favours Arsuz rather than Urfah. Perhaps Professor Goetze will reconsider this question, for if, as seems probable, *Urhu* and *Urušša* are identical, it is extremely improbable that Kizzuwatna included Urfah at the time of Suppiluliu's campaigns against Dusratta, and his historical reconstruction suffers. The meaning of the document translated on pp. 44–5 is much too uncertain to support the deduction on p. 76. The book is an admirable example of what such studies should be, and must be used by all students of the period. Sometimes they will wonder at odd turns of phrase, sometimes they will revolt at neologisms such as "Assyrisms"; but they will be grateful for guidance through difficult terrain.

B. 616 SIDNEY SMITH.

India

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. III. By L. A. KRISHNA IYER. 9 × 5½, pp. xxiii + 170. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1941.

This volume, completing the survey of the Travancore population, is the most interesting of the series. In it the author, after including, with some modifications, his contribution to the *Indian Census Report of* 1931, vol. i, part iii, furnishes valuable evidence of the connection still traceable between the early or proto-Australoid population of India

and the present day Australian tribes. In addition to the anthropometrical data, we are given some novel statistics of blood groups (p. 44) which, according to Dr. C. O. Karuna Karan, establish a close connection between the Kānikkārs and the Australian aborigines, as well as the Maori of New Zealand. Typical of these proto-Australoids are the Veddahs of Ceylon, who have now been linked up with the Rāmoshis of the Bombay Deccan through the Bedars of Madras. It is to be noted that one of the recently discovered skulls at Mohenjo Daro is, by measurement, proto-Australoid. Characteristic also of this type are totemism, megaliths, and dolmens. The traditions of origin still extant among these Travancore tribes prove little beyond the fact of earlier immigration from the East. There is an interesting account of both fraternal and promiscuous polyandry on p. 101. It seems from the statistics supplied that recent censuses disclose an increasing preponderance of females in this area, which is a common cause of such marriages.

The work is well illustrated and is furnished with charts based on anthropometrical observations. It is to be hoped that Dr. Marett's advice to Indian students, contained in a short introduction, to study this and works of a similar nature will meet with a widespread response.

B. 677. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER VIJAYANAGAR. By T. V. MAHALINGAM. 10 × 7, pp. xvi + 476. Madras University Historical Series, No. 15. University of Madras, 1940.

Now that the empire of Vijayanagar has received such close attention from the historians this study of its political features and social life is very welcome. The author treats of central, provincial, and local government, revenue, law, and justice, and of the social aspects under castes and social conditions,

religion, education, literature, and art. But this is very far from indicating the wealth of information that he has collected, and presented in a clear and attractive manner. He appears to have made a thorough study of the inscriptions and accounts of travellers. Sometimes he seems to confine himself too closely to these. In describing the method of writing he merely tells us what is said by 'Abdu'r-razzāq, a Persian ambassador, and not likely to be the best authority. In fact he says (or is made to say) that the people write on the leaf of the Hindi nut, "which is two yards long," that the characters scratched with an iron style have no colour, and endure but for a little while. Mr. Mahalingam must know that all these statements are inexact, yet he leaves them and tells us no more. Could he not have found some direct information such as he must be in a position to give? But as he furnishes exact references and is free from imaginative flights, he has done much to give life to the chronological skeleton of dynastic history.

B 623 E. J. THOMAS.

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE. Address by the President, MR. G. YAZDANI, O.B.E., on 20th December, 1941. Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan.

The above-mentioned address is of special interest. It contains a very useful survey of recent scholastic and archæological activities in India, and it gives publicity to two important projects started by the Hyderabad State. One of them is a Survey of the Prehistoric Antiquities of the Hyderabad Dominion and the other is the publication of an authentic and up-to-date History of the Monuments of India, which is being compiled by Sir John Marshall and Mr. Ghulam Yazdānī and of which the first volume is now ready for the Press.

MODERN INDIA AND THE WEST. A study of the interaction of their civilization. Edited by L. S. S. O'MALLEY, C.I.E., with a foreword by the LORD MESTON, K.C.S.I., LL.D. 9 × 5¾, pp. x + 834. Oxford University Press, 1941.

INDIA AND DEMOCRACY. By Sir GEORGE SCHUSTER and GUY WINT. 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 444. London: Macmillan. Price 12*s*. 6*d*.

These are both composite books. The former is a publication by the Royal Institute for International Affairs and contains fifteen chapters by different distinguished authors together with three chapters and a striking "General Survey" by the late Mr. O'Malley, who was known for his historical and geographical works on Bengal. The latter book is in two parts, of which one contains a historical introduction by Mr. Guy Wint, an expert in Chinese economics, and the other a well-balanced review of recent constitutional and other questions by Sir George Schuster, M.P., late Finance Member of Council in the Government of India.

The conditions and problems of modern India, such as are dealt with in these two volumes, lie for the most part outside the purview of the activities of our Society, but many of our readers may be glad to consult these works, which are both of them admirable both in design and in execution.

B. 658 and B. 686

GATE OF THE EAST AND GARDEN OF ROOTS. By C. L. DESSOULAVY, Ph.D. Vols. I, II. 10½ × 8¼. London: Luzac and Co., 1939, 1941.

Dr. Dessoulavy gives us a comparative dictionary of all words belonging to the Semitic languages, Maltese included, arranging them under their Arabic forms. The scope of the work is immense, for it takes into its purview many loan-words, and it raises a vast crop of etymological problems, which it does not always solve satisfactorily. The two volumes, which are not very neatly lithographed, carry the study down

as far as the word جلد. The mass of linguistic material here collected will be helpful.

B. 652.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE. Trivandrum, 20th to 22nd December, 1937. Published under the auspices of the Government of Travancore. 10 × 6½, pp. vi + lxxxv + 1406 + vii, 18 plates. Trivandrum, 1940.

The greater part of this massive volume is occupied by the addresses delivered and papers read in the fifteen sections of the Conference, viz. those dealing with Vedic, Iranian, and Islamic literature, Classical Sanskrit, philosophy, and religion, the Prakrits with Jainism and Buddhism, history, archæology with epigraphy and numismatics, ethnology and folklore, fine arts, the art and culture of Kērala, medicine and other technical sciences, philology and Indian linguistics, South Indian languages, other Indian languages, and the traditional studies of the Pandits, who were fittingly represented by a *pariṣad* of their own. These bear eloquent testimony to the breadth and earnestness of present-day India's intellectual and artistic interests, and there is much in them that is highly encouraging.

B 653.

ABHIDHĀNARATNAMĀLĀ OF HALĀYUDHA WITH THE KANNADA ṬIKE OF NĀGAVARMA. Edited by A. VENKATA RAO . . . and H. SESHA AYYANGAR. (Madras University Kannada Series, no. 6.) 10 × 7, pp. 30 + ii + 142. Madras: Mangalore printed, 1940.

This volume contains the well known Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā, a metrical Sanskrit dictionary, with an interpretation by Nāgavarma giving the meanings of the Sanskrit words in Old Kannada, which is now published for the first time from the sole MS. available. To this is appended a useful index of words occurring in the *ṭike*, and Mr. Sesha Ayyangar has contributed an introduction in Kannada dealing with the Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā, the *ṭike*, and their authors.

B. 654.

THE LITTLE CLAY CART. A play in ten acts by King SHUDRAKA. Translated . . . by SATYENDRA KUMAR BASU, M.Sc., with a foreword by SUNITIKUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.Lit. 8½ × 5½, pp. xii + 153. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1939.

This makes the fourth English translation of the famous Indian drama, and it is not remarkable for strict fidelity to the original.

B. 602. L. D. BARNETT.

TŪZAK-I-WĀLĀJĀHĪ OF BURHĀN IBN ḤASAN. Part II. Translated into English by S. M. H. NAINAR, M.A., Ph.D. 10 × 6½, pp. 292. University of Madras, 1939. Rs. 5.

General histories of India there are in plenty. Detailed histories of Oudh, Sind, the Panjab, and the Carnatic have still to be written. The future historian of the Carnatic will not be able to neglect Professor Nainar's translation of this important Persian source. (For a review of Part I see this *Journal*, 1936, p. 694.)

B. 718. C. COLLIN DAVIES.

POEMS OF CLOISTER AND JUNGLE: A BUDDHIST ANTHOLOGY. MRS. RHYS DAVIDS. 4 × 5, pp. 128. John Murray, 1941.

The compiler foreshadows that few, if any, more contributions are to be expected of her. Yet this one betrays no diminution in that devotion to her lifelong studies, nor in those qualifications for them, which we have learned to look for. Ever eager to convert this "Wisdom of the East" into a Wisdom of the West, she sets herself a truly difficult task here: a search for English equivalents of sophisticated Pali versions of unsophisticated, undiscovered originals. Palimpsests, indeed, they are; filled with terms subject to metamorphoses of meanings at every stage of an unidentifiable sequence of periods: subject, too, to uncertainty whether

this or that phrase is to be treated as an inspiration, or an idiom, or a formula. Fortunately, Mrs. Rhys Davids handicaps herself with no rhyme-schemes, but relies on her gifts for rhythm and on her resourcefulness in English; likewise on transmission of alliterations by means of those euphonies whereto our language lends itself, in place of those appertaining to Pali. If, as we hope, there is still more to come, some samples of the texts may be asked for. They would be useful not only to those who have acquaintance with Pali, but also to those who lack it. As with all translations of merit, the sounds and rhythms of the originals constitute, by themselves, a means towards an added appreciation, apart from their significations. However, there here remains much of human interest in these verses: poems by persons who, jointly, run the gamut of Buddhism. Much meditation and experience, moreover, abide in the translator's comment, together with reconsiderations of doubtful questions in the light of her maturer research —candid confessions of error of a kind inevitable in all scholarship: but confessed only by the best of scholars We may take farewell of the author, if and when necessary, by applying to her the words of one of her own lines :—

" The very Aim have I attained, the Buddha's bidding done."

B. 690. E. S. BATES.

Islam

THE LAW OF WAR AND PEACE IN ISLAM : A STUDY IN MUSLIM INTERNATIONAL LAW. By MAJID KHADDURI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 132. London : Luzac and Co., 1941. 6s.

In any study of Muslim law it is a mistake to combine the practice of the state with the theories of the lawyers, for the law developed in a vacuum and often had nothing to do with the facts of government. This cleavage is best seen in the doctrine of the imam. There are many theories how the imam should be appointed but they are not based on what happened

when one ruler succeeded another. The laws of war do agree largely with practice but this may be chance. Dr. Khadduri makes the mistake of assuming that law and practice are one. He has also ignored an important text, it is not even mentioned in the bibliography, the fragments of Ṭabari's work on the differences between the schools of law. The use of this book would have changed some of his conclusions and made his work fuller. Dr. Khadduri does not mention a matter of discipline, whether a soldier might engage in single combat without the permission of his commander. He mentions the use of siege artillery (p. 59) but not the further question whether it was allowed when captive Muslims were in the town or fort and might suffer from the missiles. He says, without qualification, that a Muslim woman could grant safe-conduct to a stranger; some lawyers denied this. Again, "if the unbeliever entered the *World of Islam* by virtue of an *amān*, and killed a believer . . . he was not considered to have violated the *amān*." Ṭabari says that the murderer was executed; I do not know what happened to the *amān* (safe-conduct). History shows that non-Muslims fought in Muslim armies and lawyers had to admit the fact. Ṭabari is fuller on "booty". This, for instance, is important. If prisoners form part of the booty, a husband must not be separated from his wife nor a mother from her young children in the division of the spoil.

There are some errors of fact. The early Muslims did not fight for the propagation of the faith (p. 46); there is much evidence that they had no desire to make converts. In the discussion of booty, land and *fai'* are put in separate sections; this is bad, for Abū Yūsuf states that the *fai'* is the *kharāj*, tribute or land-tax, and both of these come mainly from the land.

If this review has been mostly criticism it is because Dr. Khadduri's book is worthy of it. He has given us a serious study which is a trustworthy guide to his subject. In a second edition, a few mistakes in English might be corrected. On

p. 26, note 2, he says the opposite of what he means through misuse of the word "since".

B. 661. A. S. TRITTON.

Cuneiform

THE TREATMENT OF FINAL VOWELS IN EARLY NEO-BABYLONIAN. By J. P. HYATT. 9¾ × 7¼, pp. ix + 58. Yale Oriental Series, Vol. XXIII. Yale University Press, 1941.

This interesting monograph, originally part of a university dissertation, investigates in detail some grammatical forms of the Akkadian language in the later Babylonian period (between the twelfth and seventh centuries B.C.), including also a selection of the late Assyrian letters. Its special purpose is to deduce from variant methods of writing the extent to which final vowels in nouns and verbs were still preserved in speech at this period. The author's conclusion is that in the great majority of cases they were not so preserved, and the fact that they were commonly written is due mainly to the syllabic character of the cuneiform script. He has used with ability the various sources of evidence, and gathers his results from a wealth of quoted examples, which he has sub-divided as illustrative of various orthographic and grammatical distinctions. While there is perhaps not much that is new or striking in this study, Dr. Hyatt has given a much more complete exposition than was available before, and his result will not be seriously contested.

H. 696. C. J. GADD.

Miscellaneous

DIPLOMATICALLY SPEAKING. By LLOYD C. GRISCOM. pp. 478, illus. 1. London: John Murray, 1941. 16s.

The author served in Turkey, Persia, and Japan during his diplomatic career, so a review of his book has its place in this journal. The chapters on the east deal only with the surface

and are not free from mistakes. They are very amusing. Those on Turkey show Abd ul-Hamid in a new light. He had a private operatic company, but found that the men and women were misbehaving themselves, so he sacked the lot and engaged a company which was more or less one family. It is hard to believe the tale of the diver who found a pile of corpses in sacks in the Bosphorus below the wall of the palace, for one would imagine that the water would have rotted the sacks and the swift current scattered the bones. The visit to the chief of the Bakhtiari is a return to the Middle Ages. The most important part of the book is that dealing with the Great War, but that lies outside the scope of this review. The author merits a big audience for his book and for himself.

B. 691. A. S. TRITTON.

POETRY AND PROPHECY. By MRS. N. K. CHADWICK. 8 × 5. pp. xvi + 110. Cambridge, University Press, 1942. 7*s.* 6*d.*

"The most important conclusion" of this little book "is that among unlettered and backward peoples spiritual thought and its expression are largely of a traditional character, derived ultimately from the great centres of civilization"—Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, Rome, Persia, Arabia, India, Turkestan. I once wrote a book to show that what was termed Malay magic by Sir James Frazer and others was flotsam from Mongolian, Indian, Persian, and Arabic sources. To-day I would adduce as corroborative evidence of borrowing the fact that since the fifteenth century nearly the whole of Malay folk-lore and literature and medicine can be traced to great foreign sources (*JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, Vol. XVII, Part III, 1940), and why imagine that man's borrowings have not been continuous from time immemorial? Mrs. Chadwick's inevitable corollary is "to abandon the assumption that

the culture of the most backward communities of the present day bears any relationship to that of truly primitive or early man."

Does not Mrs. Chadwick underrate the pathological element in the average seer's make-up, prominent at any rate durin adolescence, though it may be submerged later? Every symptom of the Malay shaman's trance can be found in a paper by Jung "On the Psychology and Pathology of so-called Occult Phenomena" (*Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology*, C. J. Jung, London, 1920), together with an explanation of his cheating. Neuroticism and even epilepsy need not connote lack of intellectual power or lack of physical stamina. Saul's epilepsy caused him to be taken for a seer. Are not St. Paul and Muhammad, both men of energy, endurance and application, reputed to have been epileptics? Is it not easier to suppose the shaman is subject to hysteria rather than to suppose he is a normal person, who studies hysterical symptoms meticulously and then laboriously copies them?

When so many anthropologists disguise rather amateurish invasions of the fields of grammar and social economy in pseudo-scientific jargon, it is refreshing to read a book that is so well written and pursues knowledge for its own sake anc no blatantly practical end.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

B. C. LAW TRUST SERIES

By the generosity of Dr. Bimala C. Law of Calcutta a Trust has been founded to facilitate the publication of Monographs on Buddhism, Jainism and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the Thirteenth Century A.D. Information will be found in a leaflet issued with the January and July Nos. of JRAS., or may be obtained from the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

The Dhunnunids of Toledo

By D. M. DUNLOP

WHEN the Umayyad Caliphate in Spain succumbed to internal faction and weakness, the country was split up into independent kingdoms, ruled by the men who for one reason or another were able to take control. In the confused history of these "Party Kings" the Abbadids of Seville played a spectacular role. Their history is known from the admirable writings of Dozy, as is also the history of other families of this period. But the Banū dhī'n-Nūn or Dhunnunids are comparatively unknown. The article by Seybold in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* is very short, and the references are confined to Maqqarī. There is enough, however, in various writers to give here some account of the family through a dozen generations on the scale which their importance merits. More precise information is likely to be contained in unedited manuscripts, notably the Dhakhīrah of Ibn Bassām, and also in printed books which were not to hand. It is hoped that what may be found elsewhere will add to the present sketch, rather than correct it.

The Dhunnunids, like other prominent families of Andalus, were originally Berbers not Arabs. Some of the Berber tribe Huwārah passed over with Ṭāriq from Africa to Spain at the time of the Moslem conquest, and among their descendants were the Banū dhī'n-Nūn. The history of the family cannot be traced in Africa, but Ibn Khaldūn's account of Huwārah from which it sprang affords ample evidence of the characteristic Berber lawlessness which marked the Banū dhī'n-Nūn in their adopted home. The tribe still exists in Libya.

Dhū'n-Nūn was a famous name. In the heroic days before Islam the legendary sword carried by Mālik b. Zuhair in the war of Dāḥis was so called. It was the later name of the prophet Jonah. It was borne by the well-known Egyptian saint Dhū'n-Nūn al-Miṣrī and by several traditionists in Spain, also by the poet Ibn dhī'n-Nūn of Malaga. Dhū'n-Nūn b. Mubārak was one of the protagonists of the Almohad movement in Africa. The name means "the man of the fish", and it has been suggested that the Egyptian saint is so called with reference to one of his miracles, not apparently recorded. It is natural to connect the warlike Spanish family with the name in its first significance. Banū dhī'n-Nūn then means

something like "Sons of the Flashing Sword".[1] One of the early Moslem generals to meet the Khazars, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah, was known as Dhū'n-Nūn. This was the name of his sword, according to Ibn Athīr.[2] Further Arqam b. dhī'n-Nūn,[3] who was disowned by his family on the score of his mixed birth, composed a poem on his situation: it is in the boasting style called *fakhr*, and one of the verses gains in point if the above is the explanation of his family name:—

It is enough for me, when the bright blades have not regarded lineage,
That I am kin to my sword and spear.

The beginnings of the Dhunnunids are quite obscure. There appears to be no information about their ancestor Samḥ b. dhī'n-Nūn in the general histories or in works like the Akhbār Majmū'ah dealing more particularly with Spain. And so for the next three generations. Only the names of Isma'īl b. Samḥ b. dhī'n-Nūn, his son al-Haitham and grandson aṭ-Ṭaurīl are known. But no doubt they played a part in the stirring events which in these days centred round the city of kings, as the Arabs called Toledo. Yāqūt assures us that seventy-two nations had ruled there. It had been visited by Solomon and the prophet Khiḍr, as well as by Alexander, the conqueror of the world, and Jesus, son of Mary.

Some distance east of Toledo in the mountains where the Tagus rises and to the south of the river, lay the township and district of Santaveria. Here the Berbers from early days appear to have been numerous. The name Santaveria they may have brought from Africa, for Idrīsī mentions Santaria as a small town inhabited by Arabs and Berbers on the fringe of the Sahara. When we read of a revolt at Santaveria in the year 150/767 during the caliphate of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān I, it is natural to think that some of the Banū dhī'n-Nūn were involved, for later they are repeatedly connected with the place. The trouble on this occasion was caused by a Berber of Miknāsah, a schoolmaster, who claimed descent from Fāṭimah and 'Alī. He was widely successful among the tribesmen of Huwārah as far south as Jaen,[4] and was not disposed of till 159/775. Doubtless racial feeling contributed to this sectarian movement.

[1] And may, as Lévi-Provençal thinks, be an Arabicized form of Banū Zannūn (?).
[2] Ed. of Cairo 1303, iii, 50. But Ṭabarī's editors have Dhū'n-Nūr.
[3] Perhaps a son of Isma'īl az-Ẓāfir, reading ابنه for ابن at Maqqarī, ii, 513, l. 1.
[4] So Ibn al-Qūṭīyah, ed. Ribera, p. 32.

The temper of the time is illustrated by the story that a column of troops marching north to Saragoza captured and killed a man of these parts for boasting that Maṣmūdah was superior to the Arabs. During the caliphate of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān II in 214/829 Santaveria is again mentioned. A certain Hāshim aḍ-Ḍarrās made an insurrection in Toledo, and among other exploits attacked the Berbers in their strongholds.

In the reign of Muḥammad I the Banū dhi'n-Nūn cease to be anonymous. The date 260/873 is given for a famous raid on the camels of the Toledans by Mūsā b. Sulaimān b. dhi'n-Nūn. About the same time his father Sulaimān was brought to the notice of the Caliph Muḥammad[1] in an unusual manner. For during the interminable wars with the Christians, on his way back to Cordova from the Upper Frontier, Muḥammad left one of his eunuchs gravely ill in the house of Sulaimān b. dhi'n-Nūn at Santaveria. Sulaimān, a notable in the locality, was given orders to look after him, and if he recovered to accompany him to the capital. The favourite did get well, and Sulaimān was handsomely received by the Caliph, who appointed him governor of Santaveria. His son Mūsā was held at Cordova as a pledge of the father's good conduct. But Sulaimān gave satisfaction to the authorities till his death in 274, when he was succeeded by another son Abū Jaushan. Shortly afterwards Abū Jaushan died, and Mūsā went from Cordova to enter on his inheritance. No sooner was he back in his own country than he attacked Toledo. This was an act of open rebellion. He was encouraged to revolt, says Ibn Ḥaiyān, by the discontent all over Andalus, where men were impatient for the coming to power of 'Abdu'llāh. It is remarkable that Ibn Athīr refers to this incident as the war between the Toledans and Huwārah.[2] Henceforward, however, when Huwārah is mentioned it is never in connection with the Banū dhi'n-Nūn. Though men of Huwārah no doubt marched with them as before, it is the exploits of the Dhunnunids which the annalists record. Thanks to the defection of the Toledan general Ibn Ṭarbishah,[3] Mūsā won a notable victory on the last day of Ramaḍān in the year of his father's death and carried off rich plunder, though he does not appear to have attacked Toledo.

[1] Not 'Abdu'llāh (Gayangos).

[2] vii, 89. Ibn Athīr confuses it with the raid of 260.

[3] Or Ṭurbaishah. So Ibn Ḥaiyān ed. Antūna, p. 18. Ibn Athīr has طريشة which Fagnan renders Ṭuraishah in his translation, p. 244.

Thereafter his affairs prospered greatly, and as the Arab historian says, "those who were on their guard against him began to fear him." He died in 295, in flight from the Caliph's troops. That he survived so long is perhaps the best proof of the abilities of Mūsā b. dhi'n-Nūn. Ibn Ḥaiyān speaks of his ambition, and recognizes him as the founder of the fortunes of his house. Possibly the central authorities saw in him a natural leader of the Moslems against the Christians of the north. We may see in the patience exercised towards a man whose conduct was marked by serious misdemeanours an example of the wise statesmanship of the Caliph 'Abdu'llāh. The history of Mūsā's sons like his own well illustrates Prieto's remark [1] that the Dhunnunids were not distinguished for fidelity to the dynasty of Cordova. Yet in this next generation they appear to have played a still more prominent part in the history of their country.

Yaḥyā, the eldest of Mūsā's three sons, gave the Caliph most trouble. From his father's castle he terrorized the surrounding region by acts of brigandage. Ibn Ḥaiyān says that there were shocking tales told of his cruelty towards the settled population and travellers alike. Yet he was very skilful in maintaining good relations with Cordova. He ingratiated himself with 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān III at the beginning of his reign. Pretending friendship for a rebel chief who had seized Malagon, he treacherously killed him and sent the head to the capital. It was the first so received by 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, who had it exposed over the gate of his palace, and by way of reward confirmed Yaḥyā in his possessions. But he was never a loyal subject, and gave himself up to brigandage as before.

The younger brothers, working at first in concert, no doubt in self-defence against the rapacious Yaḥyā, pursued a different policy. Determined to be their own masters and prevent officers of the Caliphate from entering their territories, they erected castles at strong points, and rebuilt a number of villages, so that the population began to increase. Fatḥ was installed in the fortress of Ucles which he had built for himself. Muṭarrif occupied and extended the castle of Huete. The career of Fatḥ was short, and unfortunate. A qasīdah by 'Ubaidīs b. Maḥmūd circulated freely in which he described how his patron 'Ubaidu'llāh b. Umayyah had fought with Fatḥ b. dhi'n-Nūn for possession of the castle of Dhīmīh

[1] *Los Reyes de Taifas*, Madrid, 1926, p. 52.

near Jaen, and how the Dhunnunid had been defeated. According to the Bayānu'l-Mughrib another severe defeat was inflicted on him by 'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz al-Qurashī, sent against him by 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, in 300/912, at Calatrava. The action ended in a rout, and 'Abbās made great slaughter among his supporters. Surviving this disaster Fatḥ b. dhī'n-Nūn was destined to be killed three years later by the treachery of one of his own men, while pursuing a raiding party of Toledans.

After this the other brother, Muṭarrif, appears to have made his peace with the Caliph. Certainly he was with 'Abdu'llāh b. Muḥammad b. Lope, one of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān's generals, in 311/923, when the Christians of Pamplona besieged and captured Viguera. Serving under him at the time were Muṭarrif and his paternal cousin, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. dhī'n-Nūn. The general with all his officers was imprisoned by Sancho the Great of Navarre, and most of them were later executed. Muṭarrif and one or two others escaped.

Meanwhile the Caliph had had his eyes opened about Yaḥyā b. dhī'n-Nūn. He had refused to co-operate in the campaign of 312/924. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān had marched north "in the way of God" without him, to fight the holy war. On the way back the troops were ordered to lay waste his territory. A fierce engagement followed, after which Yaḥyā appeared before the Caliph, accompanied by his nephew Yaḥyā b. Fatḥ, and was pardoned. In the next year,[1] however, an officer of the government was killed in Dhunnunid territory. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd b. Basīl was sent "to punish their disobedience, the devastations to which they gave themselves up, and their pride towards their Moslem neighbours". The last phrase, taken with a verse in the 'Iqd, suggests that at this time they were treated as heretics. Their stronghold, no doubt Santaveria, was taken, and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd "put to death those of them who deserved it". Thereafter, we are told, they paid large impositions, and everything went as well as in the other provinces. Yaḥyā recovered from these reverses. In 321/933 the same general was again sent against him. The two parties came to an arrangement by which Yaḥyā went to Cordova with his sons and household and made his submission. He was pardoned and reappointed over his estates. The probability is that this was some little time later,

[1] So according to the 'Iqd ed. of 1331, iii, 222; but in 314 according to Bayān tr. Fagnan, ii, 316.

for we read that in the next year 322/934 Theuda, the Queen of Navarre, widow of Sancho the Great, met the Caliph at Pamplona, and among other requests asked for the release of the Dhunnunids whom he held in captivity. In any case Yaḥyā was set free and given a military appointment. He accompanied the Caliph in an expedition against Saragoza in 325/936, where he died in the same year.

After the tragic death of his brother Fatḥ, Muṭarrif b. dhī'n-Nūn steered a consistently regular course. Abdu'r-Raḥmān approved of him. So when he came back from Navarre, having escaped from Sancho, he was promoted by the Caliph. He distinguished himself greatly at the disaster of al-Khandaq in 327. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān showed his gratitude by appointing him governor of Guadalajara. It is known that the marches were reorganized during 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān's caliphate, and this post may have corresponded to the wardenship of the Lower Frontier. At Guadalajara Muṭarrif died in 333/944, covered with honours, and it was through him that the line of the family was continued.

Qāsim, his son, followed the same loyalist policy. He is mentioned with Ghālib, the freedman of Ḥakam II, and one of the Tujibids on an expedition made in 354/965 against Alava, far to the north in the Basque country. Another son was 'Āmir b. dhī'n-Nūn. 'Āmir's salutation to the Caliph 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān on the occasion of the rebuilding of Medina-Celi in 335/946 is quoted. He also is clearly loyalist in politics. Some time later he is mentioned as one of the qā'ids who came to Cordova to announce an exploit against Castile, in which it was reckoned 10,000 of the enemy had been killed. A public announcement was made of this notable feat of arms, and shortly afterwards about 5,000 heads of victims reached the Caliph as proof of what had been done. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān had them set up on the fortifications. This shocking story if true evidences the Caliph's cruelty as he aged. The date is given as 344/955. Apart from what we have just mentioned nothing appears to be recorded of 'Āmir except that he stands in the direct line of the royal Dhunnunids. 'Āmir had a son, Isma'īl. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, the son of this Isma'īl, was in turn the father of Isma'īl aẓ-Ẓāfir, who ruled as king in Toledo.

These intervening generations are practically a blank in the records. One member of the family, possibly 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. dhī'n-Nūn, is mentioned with other chiefs as having helped

al-Manṣūr b. abī 'Āmir to get rid of one of his opponents.[1] In view of the immediate past and the sequel it is likely that the Dhunnunids continued to hold governorships on the Frontier. But after the fall of Cordova in 403/1013 neither Umayyads nor Hammudids were ever in a position to unite the country. When the last of the Umayyads after two years' residence at Cordova was deposed in 422/1031, the provinces had long passed out of the Caliph's control.

At Toledo in particular the government was before this in the hands of Ya'īsh b. Muḥammad b. Ya'īsh, who held the office of qāḍī. At Seville a little later another qāḍī succeeded in founding a dynasty, but events at Toledo went otherwise. For the Banū dhi'n-Nūn now threw up perhaps the most remarkable of the long line, Abū Muḥammad Isma'īl b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān. He began his career as a boy of nineteen in 409/1018 by the capture of Ucles,[2] the important fortress near Toledo which, as we saw, belonged to the family earlier. Some time after this Ibn Ya'īsh died. A faction in the city determined to offer the government to the powerful Dhunnunids. Perhaps in his father's lifetime, and on his suggestion, Isma'īl lent himself to their wishes. Descending from his vantage-point at Ucles he became master of Toledo, apparently without serious resistance, though details are lacking. The step was decisive. For the next fifty years Isma'īl b. dhi'n-Nūn and his successors were kings of Toledo.

The date of this event is uncertain. Following Ibn Khaldūn it is usually given, e.g. by Seybold, as 427, but this is too late. For an inscription dated 423/1031 shows Isma'īl as already in Toledo, with the title of Dhū'r-Ri'āsatain and calling himself aẓ-Ẓāfir.[3] This must be placed after his installation as king. It is as certain as it can be without direct proof that he assumed the designation aẓ-Ẓāfir bi-hauli'llāh—Victorious by the help of God—after the occupation of Toledo. His accession must therefore be put before 423/1031, and it may have been considerably earlier.

Two important events are recorded in Isma'īl's reign. One of these is mentioned briefly by the author of the Kitābu'l-Iktifā, who relates that the Christians invaded the Toledan territory

[1] So Maqqari, i, 258. Dozy gives another account. See *Moslems in Spain*, p. 498 = *Histoire*, iii, 193–4.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, ed. of 1284, iv, 161, has اقلنتين. Correct to اقليش.

[3] Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions Arabes d'Espagne*, p. 66.

some time before 425/1033. Isma'il went out to meet them, but was completely defeated. Great numbers of the Moslems were killed, we are told, but no indications of any results are given. In Isma'il's time also and in his own lands took place the alleged reappearance of the Caliph Hishām II. The affair created a great stir. And no wonder. Hishām II, son of al-Ḥakam, had reigned as Caliph for some time after his father's death in 366/976. He succeeded as a boy of ten and had the doubtful advantage of the great al-Manṣūr as his vizier. After various changes of fortune he had been dethroned and imprisoned by his relative Sulaimān when the latter entered Cordova at the head of his Berbers in 403/1013. Sulaimān was defeated and deposed by 'Alī b. Ḥammūd four years later. At this time a corpse was disinterred and identified as Hishām's, so that it was supposed that the unfortunate Caliph had been murdered by Sulaimān or some of his partisans. Twenty years passed. Rumours circulated that Hishām was still alive. When the claimant appeared, he declared that he had escaped from Sulaimān and found safety in the East for many years before his return to Spain. The whole story was mysterious. Ibn abī'l-Fayyāḍ, one of the authorities quoted by Ibn Athīr, states that the man was indeed the Caliph, and Ibn Athīr himself appears to agree. Others thought him an impostor, and that the whole business had been devised by Abū'l-Qāsim b. 'Abbād, of Seville, who wanted to secure his rising power and confuse the minds of the populations of Andalus by using the name and authority of a Caliph. Ibn Ḥaiyān tells how he invited the alleged Hishām to his territories, and assembled those who had known the Caliph, among them the ladies who in their youth had formed the imperial harem. After most had recognized the claimant as indeed Hishām, he was proclaimed Caliph, and so continued under Ibn 'Abbād's protection. Genuine or not, the claimant appeared in Malaga in 426 and passed on to Murcia where Isma'il b. dhī'n-Nūn had some possessions. Isma'il attacked him in the castle of Rabbāḥ which he had occupied, and drove him out. It was at this point that the Abbadid offered him hospitality in Seville. When he was recognized as Caliph at Cordova, then in the sphere of influence of Ibn 'Abbād, other rulers accepted his authority, among them even Yaḥyā b. dhī'n-Nūn, Isma'il's son and successor. But Isma'il never did.

The date of his death has caused discussion. Ibn Khaldūn puts it in 429/1037. As according to the same authority Ibn Ya'ish

whom Isma'il b. dhi'n-Nūn succeeded in Toledo died in 427, he is represented as reigning two years at most. We have given grounds for thinking that this date, 427, is wrong for Isma'il's accession to sovereign power, and there is reason for not accepting 429/1037 as the year of his death. Ibn Athīr and Nuwairī give the alternative 435. This has found favour since Dozy pointed out that after the murder of Mundhir of Saragoza in 431/1039 Isma'il was still alive and threatened 'Abdu'llāh b. Ḥakam, Mundhir's assailant.[1]

If his dates and the events of his reign are obscure, we nevertheless get the impression of Isma'il as a man of activity and energy and not only in politics and war. He was conversant with literature and wrote what is described as excellent poetry. He was the author of at least one book, apparently an anthology like Ḥuṣrī's Zahru'l-Ādāb, which has not survived. He was supported in his various enterprises by the vizier Abū Bakr al-Ḥadīdī.[2]

Abū'l Ḥasan Yaḥyā b. Isma'il b. dhi'n-Nūn, called al-Ma'mūn, succeeded his father. Hardly had he become king when he was attacked by Sulaimān b. Hūd of Saragoza, who invaded the province of Guadalajara. Yaḥyā fled to Talavera and got help from Ferdinand I of Castile on condition of recognizing his suzerainty. With Christian aid he was able to drive off the aggressor. Nuwairī mentions the friendly relations in which Yaḥyā stood to Sancho el Conde, and particularly a ruse which his Christian friend played off against him. Yaḥyā had written to him suggesting a meeting, at which both should be attended by a hundred horsemen. Then congratulating himself on his cleverness, the Dhunnunid rode out to the rendezvous with two hundred. But Sancho went one better. He placed 6,000 men in concealment and gave instructions that they were to show themselves when the two principals came together. Yaḥyā was completely taken aback and had to agree to hand over certain castles and pay an annual sum of money before he got away. In 449/1057, when Ferdinand had united Leon and Galicia to Castile, and was now the most powerful Christian ruler in Spain, he raided the Dhunnunid kingdom. Yaḥyā saw himself obliged to appear before the Christian. He came with an immense quantity of treasure which he offered to Ferdinand if he should agree to withdraw, and at the same time renewed his oath of allegiance. Yet

[1] *Recherches*, i, 238, note.
[2] Priedo, p. 53, quoting Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *A'māl al-A'lām*. Unfortunately Lévi-Provençal's edition, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, Rabat, 1934, has not been available for this paper.

the advantage in these encounters did not always lie with the Christians. On at least one occasion they were defeated by the army of the Dhunnunids under the command of the eunuch Wāḍiḥ. Such were the "famous contests" which Ibn Khaldūn and Maqqarī mention as taking place between Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn and the Christian. Evidently Ferdinand was determined to insist on the terms of their agreements, and Yaḥyā set on establishing complete independence. Whether he ceased to be in theory the vassal of Castile, at least in his enemy's lifetime, is doubtful.

Ferdinand having died, his heirs fell to quarrelling. In 464/1071 the battle of Volpejares was fought out between Sancho of Castile and his brother Alphonso VI of Leon. That the battle was fought at all was advantageous to Yaḥyā, but its result was specially gratifying. Alphonso was defeated and came for security to the court of Toledo. That a Christian king should enter Moslem territory not at the head of an army, but as a suppliant must have been welcome hearing for all the faithful in Andalus. Islam had been on the defensive since the eclipse of the Umayyads. Perhaps the tide had now begun to turn. We can understand that the prestige of the Dhunnunid to whom the Christian had come for protection was now extraordinarily high. He was "the first of the kings of Andalus, and the noblest of them, and the most entitled to precedence", says 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī. The imperfect records of his reign may hardly seem to bear this out. But we must remember that there was a time when men may have thought that the former glories of the Caliphate would yet be restored at Toledo under the sceptre of another royal house. One of the proudest days in the long and brilliant career of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān an-Nāṣir li-dīni'llāh—Defender of the religion of God—generations ago, had been when Theuda of Navarre and her son Sancho arrived at Cordova to seek help from the Caliph, the great conqueror whose writ ran to the four corners of the Peninsula. No such thing had been seen in Andalus before or since—till now when Alphonso appeared in Toledo. Might the Moslems yet be united and victorious under the sovereignty of Yaḥyā b. dhī'n-Nūn?

We have no means of estimating exactly how his contemporaries regarded Yaḥyā, or what was the nature of his ambitions, except inference, which must be used with caution. He laid out his fortune in entertainments proverbially costly. The circumcision-feast of Ibn dhī'n-Nūn was as famous in Andalus as the long-remembered

banquet given by Ḥasan b. Sahl when his daughter Būrān was married to the Caliph Ma'mūn. He had a castle built at enormous expense in the capital, constructing in it a lake with a pleasure-house on an island in the centre. Here, as Ibn 'Abdūn describes it, one might sit on summer days cooled by the falling water, which architects had contrived to flow continuously from overhead. Here favoured guests were admitted, and once when Yaḥyā was there (by day or by night, when it was illumined by tapers which were not quenched by the water) he was reminded, as great lords of the East have always been, by a supernatural voice that all this wealth and luxury were soon to pass from him.

He surrounded himself with the pleasures of wine and poetry. Once at a drinking-party all present fell to discussing the state of Andalus, and mention was made of the rulers in turn, their allies and rivals for power. Then someone spoke verses in praise of Yaḥyā, and said :—

Leave the kings and the sons of kings.
He that stands by the sea does not yearn after the river.
There is none on earth's face like Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn.
For confirmation consider the report that you have heard.

As befitted his rank he had a number of viziers. Very close to him stood Ibn al-Ḥadīdī, one of the family, perhaps the son, of the man who had served Isma'il az-Ẓāfir. Another minister and friend was Ibn al-Faraj, a poet and the son of a poet, if one is right in identifying the Abū 'Āmir b. al-Faraj mentioned by Casiri as his father. Once Ibn al-Faraj was told by his doctor to make use of old wine for the relief of some complaint from which he suffered. Knowing that one of the royal pages possessed wine of excellent quality and very old, the vizier took pen and paper, and wrote the following :—

Send me some of that wine as sweet as thy love,
And more transparent than the tears upon thy cheek—
The soul's own sister—and pour it out
For my heart-sickness, my son. I am your slave.

Yet in spite of the magnificence of Yaḥyā's establishment there was a debit side. The orthodox could scarcely approve the free manners of the court, which departed so far from the code prescribed by religion. It is clear that the historians are not prejudiced in the Dhunnunids' favour. And it is doubtful if Yaḥyā's territory could

stand the drain on its resources imposed by a style of life on the scale of an Abbadid caliph, such as was maintained by its prince. The effect on the rulers themselves was bad, as no doubt the shrewd Alphonso noted when he was a guest at Toledo. Once addressing an Abbadid envoy, but having in mind the court of the Dhunnunids perhaps as much as Seville, Alphonso characterized the Moslem leaders as "evidently a prey to insanity every one of them, indulging in all manner of vice and iniquity, and passing their lives among a host of singers and lute-players". When we come to consider the sequel, the conduct of Yaḥyā al-Qādir, the loss of Toledo, and the utter collapse of the dynasty, we shall be right in ascribing the disasters which followed not only to ill-fortune, but also to Yaḥyā the elder's recklessness and the prevailing licence of his court.

Yet evil effects did not at first appear. Yaḥyā undertook a series of enterprises which under a better star might have brought him and his successors to a yet higher eminence. The goal of his policy was the occupation of Cordova, where the Jahwarids maintained themselves with difficulty against Seville. But Yaḥyā proceeded indirectly. When the Amirid ruler of Valencia removed to Almeria, he availed himself of the opportunity, and 457/1065 saw the Dhunnunids in Valencia. The city was left in the capable hands of Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz who had been vizier for the Amirid. Next Yaḥyā got possession of Carmona, at least for a time. It was probably reckoned as belonging to the Dhunnunids by Mu'tamid[1] when he wrote a letter to Yaḥyā which had important consequences. It was there proposed, according to Nuwairi's account, that they should combine first against Carmona where Isḥāq b. 'Abdu'llāh the Tujibid had recently established himself, and then against Cordova, which after capture should pass to Yaḥyā. The first part of this plan was carried out. Carmona was taken, and a son of the Abbadid left there, conformably with Mu'tamid's regular practice. His father joined Yaḥyā b. dhi'n-Nūn before Cordova. The siege was protracted, and in the course of it Mu'tamid became acquainted with a private soldier of Cordova, who put him in communication with an officer of the garrison. By this channel the defenders conveyed word to him that they were prepared to hand over the city, but not to the Dhunnunid. The incident illustrates the methods by which the Abbadids maintained their power. Mu'taḍid, the father of Mu'tamid, who died

[1] Muhammad b. 'Abbād, not (Nuwairi) Muḥammad b. Isma'īl.

early in 461, was adept in such subterranean moves. 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid tells a long story of the operation of his intelligence service in hostile Carmona. On another occasion one of the mu'adhdhins of Seville fled from his anger to Toledo. Mu'taḍid sent an agent who was able to despatch the unfortunate man in his place of refuge and bring back his head to his implacable master from under the very eyes of the Dhunnunids. After some hesitation Mu'tamid now agreed to violate his pledge to his ally. He entered and occupied the city by night. Next morning Yaḥyā presented with a situation he was not strong enough to deal with led back his forces.[1] Mu'tamid, as was his way, celebrated his success in a few agreeable verses and appointed his son Abū 'Amr[2] 'Abbād b. 'Abbād, called aẓ-Ẓāfir, as governor. The date was 461/1069. Ẓāfir showed his quality in the years that followed, beating off repeated attacks pressed on him by the disappointed Dhunnunid, and by his defence of the city he merited the title King of Cordova which was applied to him. On one occasion particularly he routed a great army led by Yaḥyā, who appears to have fled and abandoned all men and material to be killed or captured by the Cordovans. But the Dhunnunid persisted, and in the end the personal courage of Ẓāfir was not able to save the former capital from falling into his hands.

Abandoning hopes of success by direct assault Yaḥyā entrusted his designs to a certain Jarīr b. 'Ukāshah, a Berber of low origin to whom he was attracted by his ruthless vigour, and perhaps by community of race. Nuwairī describes him as "a bold fellow, who possessed certain castles, and robbed and killed merchants in the vicinity". He was established by Yaḥyā in command of a fortress near Cordova, from which he harried the citizens. He was also in the habit of coming at night to the city, where he struck up a friendship with members of the garrison and entertained them outside the walls with food and drink, and more to the point with large promises of commands, if they assisted him. These activities were known, but Muḥammad b. Martīn, who had been appointed over the troops by Mu'tamid and was responsible for the security of Cordova, though a fine soldier, was at this time too sunk in pleasures to deal with the situation. And so on a night of rain so

[1] So Nuwairī, ed. Remiro, i, p. 90. According to another account mentioned by Prieto, p. 75 (? Ibn al-Khaṭīb), the Toledans were put to flight by Mu'tamid's general Muḥammad b. Martīn.

[2] So Maqqarī, i, 288, rightly. Correct text of Ibn Khaldūn, loc. cit., ابا عمر to ابا عمرو. This text of Ibn Khaldūn is full of errors.

dark, says Ibn Bassām, that a dog could not see a gazelle, Ibn 'Ukāshah entered the city. Under cover of the storm he and his men approached the palace. Everywhere were pickets of Cordovans, waiting under arms for orders that never came, and so they remained till morning dawned. The presence of the intruders was not known till it was announced to Ẓāfir by the officer of the palace gate. Taken by surprise, with no time to arm, Ẓāfir seized his sword and ran with his attendants and bodyguard to repel the Toledans. Ibn Khāqān comments on the gallantry of the young Abbadid, as he and his little band charged out and repeatedly drove Ibn 'Ukāshah's men from the gate. There were enough of the Toledans to hold off help from other parts of the city. Ẓāfir and his friends fought unsupported till he slipped and fell wounded to the ground. The Toledans let him lie in the darkness and pressed into the palace. There was more work yet to do. Having secured the palace, Ibn 'Ukāshah proceeded to the house of Ibn Martīn. There was still no major move by the main Cordovan forces, in whose attitude disaffection as well as uncertainty and confusion may be inferred. The objective was quickly surrounded and taken without resistance. The general is said to have been found in one of his habitual orgies. During the rest of the eventful night Ibn 'Ukāshah went round the mansions of the notables of Cordova, representing to each in turn the futility of resistance and the necessity of subscribing to the new order. So effectively did he work on their feelings and so convincing were his arguments that next day when the citizens were convoked to a meeting in the great mosque, all classes, patricians and plebs alike, accepted his rule. The same day saw the end of the young Abbadid, whom all sources agree in praising. In the morning twilight one of the imams of the mosque, passing from his house for the first prayer, saw him lying where he had fallen, and touched by the sight covered him with his cloak. He still lived, but later his enemies found him, and he was decapitated and his head stuck on a spear. The worthless Ibn Martīn did not survive him long. He was sent off to Yaḥyā b. dhi'n-Nūn at Toledo, but on the way owing, as was said, to a misunderstanding he was killed by his guards. The news of the debacle was brought to Seville by fugitives. When he heard of the circumstances of his son's death Mu'tamid was too overcome to compose the customary elegy, but recited with deepest feeling a single verse from the Ḥamāsah.

On the other side, when the news came in, Yaḥyā set out with all haste for Cordova, to enter into possession of the long-coveted prize, and to take over as soon as possible from his subordinate. Ibn 'Ukāshah had now served the Dhunnunid's turn, and he showed great anxiety to be rid of him. It was not till some time had passed that the Berber presented himself before his sovereign. An eye-witness describes how he entered the presence, clothed in the magnificent robes of the Dhū'l-Wizāratain. Yaḥyā received him complacently enough, but when the other withdrew was unable to conceal his true feelings, and sighing deeply muttered some words which provoked a protest from one of his courtiers. But Yaḥyā would not hear praises of Ibn 'Ukāshah's courage or of his services to the dynasty, and interrupted the speaker by declaring, "Stop! He that has raised his hand against kings is dangerous to kings." The situation, however, developed no further, for after the attainment of his ambition to capture Cordova, Yaḥyā's time was short. The city's fall was in 467/1075, and in the same year Yaḥyā died, poisoned, it was said, by his own physician, who had been suborned by Mu'tamid. Fortune had shown itself favourable to the Dhunnunids, but it was by an ill turn that Yaḥyā was carried off while as yet unable to consolidate the position of his successor. Given a few more years now, Yaḥyā might have overcome the Abbadid. Had he done so, he could scarcely have failed to unite Andalus, whether with the title of Caliph or not, against the Christian powers and the Almoravids in the south. As it was, he died in Cordova. His body was carried on the shoulders of his men with great speed—"by flying jinn and 'ifrīts" says one account—to Toledo, and there buried.

But Yaḥyā's death was not the severest blow in store for the Dhunnunids. His son Isma'īl now assumed full authority.[1] Nearly twenty years before we find him with the title of Ḥājib, and the appellation Ḥusāmu'd-Daulah—appropriate name for a Dhunnunid, a "Son of the Flashing Sword"—was as early conferred on him by his father.[2] His probation had thus lasted a long time. But

[1] This seems at least as likely as the other possibilities: (*a*) that an otherwise unknown Hishām b. Yaḥyā succeeded his father (Crónica General); *or* (*b*) that al-Qādir succeeded his grandfather (Ibn Khaldun). We here assume that Hishām is wrongly given for Isma'īl in the Crónica General (cited by Prieto, p. 54). Nuwairi makes al-Qādir son of Yaḥyā. Ibn Athīr and 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid confuse al-Qādir with his grandfather. Also Ibn Khaldūn, loc. cit., in error says *aẓ-Ẓāfir* died in 467 and his grandson succeeded.

[2] See Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, p. 190. Note that in this inscription the father of Isma'īl aẓ-Ẓāfir is said to be Muḥammad, not 'Abdu' r-Raḥmān.

now at this critical hour when the largest prospects appeared to open, having ruled at most for a few months Isma'īl died. The result was fatal to his dynasty. The Dhunnunid power passed to his son Yaḥyā al-Qādir, who neither by temperament nor education was fitted to hold it, and in his hands the fortunes of his house crumbled away to nothing.

There is a long account of his unhappy reign in the Kitābu'l-Iktifā. Brought up in the harem of his father, al-Qādir was weak in body and imbecile in mind. He was attacked successively by Ibn 'Abbād, who recovered Cordova and killed Ibn 'Ukāshah, and by Ibn Hūd of Saragoza. At Valencia Abū Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz took advantage of al-Qādir's embarrassments to throw off his allegiance, and declared himself independent. The city of Cuenca was besieged by the Christians and forced to capitulate. An army sent from Toledo under the eunuch Bashīr to recover the situation was forced to withdraw. At the same time there were riots in the Dhunnunid capital in which several well known men were killed. Looking around him al-Qādir saw no help from any quarter, and made the disastrous decision to appeal to Alphonso VI.

He got in reply a curt demand for money. With this document in hand he called together the principal officers of the court and the provincial governors, and announced that it was necessary to gain the Christian's help by such and such large sums. The Dhunnunid chiefs heard the statement in silence, and none spoke till one of them, the qā'id Abū Shujā' b. Labūn solemnly said, "The words you have uttered are the best proof of the instability of your empire, but perhaps you put trust and reliance on him." It was probably now that violent quarrels broke out between al-Qādir and his advisers. The Dhunnunid's folly went to such lengths that he threw into prison and then killed among others the vizier Ibn al-Ḥadīdī,[1] whose family had been associated with the dynasty from its foundation. The vizier's household escaped to Valencia. Despairing of their hereditary ruler the chief men of Toledo entered into correspondence with Mutawakkil the Aftasid of Badajoz, the patron of Ibn 'Abdūn, inviting him to accept the crown. Yaḥyā al-Qādir abandoned the city and fled with a handful of followers to Huete, but the governor closed the gates against him. Meanwhile Mutawakkil had accepted the invitation and was fortifying himself in Toledo. The wretched al-Qādir dispatched messages to Alphonso,

[1] Prieto, p. 54, from Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

declaring that all demands would be met if he would provide him with an army to deal with his rebellious subjects. This suited the Christian well enough. On the promise of all the Dhunnunid' treasures, to be handed over when the city was reduced, he marched south. As a pledge of his good faith al-Qādir meantime had to surrender two important fortresses, which were immediately garrisoned by Alphonso. Joining the Christian with such forces as he could raise, al-Qādir took part in the siege of Toledo, which eventually was taken and handed back to him. But all the wealth he could collect from the inhabitants and all his private fortune were not enough for Alphonso, who insisted on the surrender o a further fortress to balance the account. Then only he withdrew, sated for the moment at least with the treasure of Toledo. Al-Qādir' position was now no better than before, though the Aftasid had been driven out. The sympathy of his subjects was finally lost to him. Many of the best citizens left secretly for Saragoza, hopin to find a strong protector in Ibn Hūd, since first their own ruler, and then Mutawakkil had failed them. Seeing that government was no longer possible in Toledo, al-Qādir turned again to Alphonso, proposing the cession of Toledo in return for his installation in rebellious Valencia. The Christian was delighted, and marched immediately on so profitable an errand. It must be said in al-Qādir' favour that now at least he appears to have shown some feeling for his responsibilities. Perhaps we are to see in the terms of the capitulation by which he made over Toledo to the Christian ruler, the hand of some Moslem doctor. It was laid down that every Moslem was to have security for himself and his family, and was to retain his property. Any who chose might leave the city with all his possessions. Those who remained were to be liable for a sum not exceeding the normal poll-tax (*jizyah*). Further, any former inhabitant who wished to return at any time might do so without detriment. These conditions seem so favourable compared with what al-Qādir was now seeking for himself that it is probable wiser head than his had the framing of them. Yet even so, it was something that he allowed them to be put forward.

This account is followed by Prieto, who places the capture o Toledo by Alphonso and al-Qādir sometime after 472 when Mutawakkil was invited in. He regards the story of a seven years' siege as given by Ibn Athīr and Nuwairī as a mistake. It was indeed six or seven years after hostilities began that Alphonso

occupied the city by capitulation in 478/1085. But there is a coin of al-Qādir dated 475, which he thinks is a suitable date for Alphonso's entry by force of arms. It may be noted also that Ibn Bassām writing very close to the event does not speak of a seven years' siege.[1]

These events with their culmination in the permanent loss of Toledo had a most painful effect on the Moslems, which the great but partial successes of the Almoravid Yūsuf could do little to remove. Had the Moslem rulers sunk their differences, in particular had Mu'tamid restrained his hatred for the Dhunnunid house as at one time seemed possible, the disastrous loss might never have had to be endured. The feelings of Andalus are reflected in the chroniclers. The narrative of Ibn Bassām, in whose youth Toledo fell, here takes on a sombre tone. He speaks of the dissensions in the city, of the mysterious destruction of a year's harvest at a critical moment while the city was under siege, of the final departure of Ibn dhi'n-Nūn from Toledo, his wretched appearance and his attempt to take a reading from an astrolabe as he went away. He relates that the conquerors acted equitably to the population, and how this commended their religion to the lower orders, many of whom became Christian, how the great mosque was converted into a church, and how on the day of its consecration the learned doctor al-Maghāmī entered for the last time. Having prayed, he instructed his attendant to read from the Qur'ān. The Christians are described as protesting but not daring to disturb the shaikh, who completed his devotions, then raising his head wept aloud for the fate of the mosque and departed. The loss of Toledo was the most serious reverse which the Moslems had yet suffered in Spain. And verses circulating among them predicted further disaster.

Stirring events were taking place. The Almoravids had landed in Spain. Alphonso sustained a great defeat at their hands near Badajoz. To reassert himself both against them and also his rival Sancho, who had become formidable in the north-east, Alphonso determined to turn his arms against Valencia, where al-Qādir had been installed according to the terms of the capitulation. A fleet of four hundred sail from Genoa and Pisa was to support the attempt. It seemed certain that Valencia, ruled by a puppet king, could not survive. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz was dead and his son 'Uthmān had been disposed of when al-Qādir was forced on

[1] Quoted by Maqqari, ii, 748.

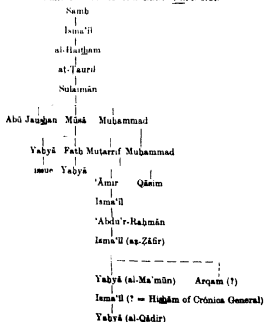
the city. But as it happened the last of the Dhunnunids had seen the value to his waning rule of Alvar Fañez who commanded the Christians sent by Alphonso to help him in Valencia, and had associated himself with the still more redoubtable Cid. The terms were as usual where al-Qādir was concerned, money from the Dhunnunid, of which he still retained some, in return for protection from the other party. The Cid was not prepared to allow any man even Alphonso to come between himself and what he regarded as his own preserves. Consequently when he heard the news of this projected attack on al-Qādir he led a strong raiding column into Castile. So it came about that the army of Alphonso arrived before Valencia to co-operate with the ships at sea, and almost immediately was withdrawn, according to the chronicler after the first night's bivouac before the walls, to defend Castilian territory against the Cid. Well satisfied with the success of his diversion, the latter retired towards Valencia, knowing that little fighting and large reimbursements awaited him there. If the Cid had always been in a position to intervene in the affairs of Valencia, al-Qādir might yet have survived. As well as money the situation of the city and the possibility of forming a centre of resistance to the Almoravids rendered its nominal ruler an object of solicitude and concern to him. But at the next crisis the Cid was far away. Before his Christian protector could intervene, al-Qādir found himself at grips with the most powerful man in Valencia the qāḍī Ibn Jaḥḥāf,[1] who called in a detachment of Almoravids and imprisoned the unfortunate Dhunnunid (485/1092). There he was assassinated by the hand of an Ibn Ḥadīdī,[2] an act of vengeance for the death of the vizier. Later the Cid marched to Valencia. He laid siege to Ibn Jaḥḥāf and his Almoravid supporters for twenty months, during which the Valencians suffered all the miseries of famine. It is related that at one point a single mouse sold for a dinar. When the city fell the monies which the unfortunate al-Qādir had retained were demanded of Ibn Jaḥḥāf. He swore that he had taken nothing, but this did not save him from being burned alive.

So ends the history of the Banū dhī'n-Nūn. For some indication of the extent of territory directly ruled by them at one time we have the following statement. After the fall of Toledo "Alphonso gradually reduced under his rule all the lands which had once

[1] Correct the text of Nuwairi, ed. Remiro, i, 88, قتله القاضى الاحنف بن حجاب to نقتله القاضى الاحنف بن جحاف

[2] Prieto, p. 60 (? Ibn al-Khaṭīb).

belonged to the Dhunnunids, from Guadalajara to Talavera, and from the plain of Elche in Mursia to the district of Santaveria. This was an extent of country which comprised eighty principal towns, in every one of which was a mosque, besides innumerable villages, farmhouses, and rural buildings ".[1] To this must be added, as well as some indications in the text, the remark of Ibn Khaldūn that they occupied Ronda in the extreme south. It is clear that at one time or another a large part of Spain acknowledged Dhunnunid rule.

The story is told of the Christian conqueror of Toledo that he was invited to wear the crown like his Gothic predecessors in the kingdom. "No," replied he, "not until I take Cordova." And he had a great bell made, set with jewels, in expectation of the day when the mosque of Cordova should fall into his hands. His designs, too, came to nothing. Toledo, however, remained in the hands of the Christians. From now on it was to be associated with new and life-giving ideas in a Europe awakening from sleep.

[1] Kitābu 'l-Iktifā, trans. Gayangos.

On the Sogdian Vessantara Jātaka

By ILYA GERSHEVITCH

THE publication by Benveniste of the facsimiles of all Sogdian manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris*, vol. iii, *Codices Sogdiani*, Copenhagen, 1940) enables us to check the correctness of Gauthiot's reading of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (published in *JA.*, 1912, 163–193, 430–510). Since most people interested in Sogdian are more likely at first to try to read the texts so far unpublished than to compare the original with texts already published, it seems convenient to give a list of the comparatively few misreadings or misprints that have been noticed in Gauthiot's edition. I have also thought it useful to confirm the reading of spellings which one would have suspected to be misprints. Thirdly, there will be found a few attempts at explaining unclear words or passages. Here and there I have made use of Dr. Henning's kind permission to quote from his photographs of unpublished texts.

l. 45. Read *'γšδrkt'k* instead of *'γšδrt'k.*[1] This form directly continues Avestan *xšaθrō-kərəta-*. It is preserved in the name of the town *Šahrkart* (cf. Markwart, *Wehrot*, p. 58) which Dr. Henning also noticed in the Great Inscription of Šahpur, spelled *štrkrty*.

l. 49. Read *γwt'y* instead of *γwt'w*. The position of the words clearly indicates that *γwt'y* is a verbal form. Dr. Henning suggested 3 Sg. Pret. Pass., belonging to *γwn-* "to call", e.g. VJ 75.89, and to the preceding *γwny* "proclamation", hence: "a proclamation was called out." One might also consider a metathesis from *wγt-* "to send out, release" (analogous to Chr. *γwt-* from *wxt-* "to speak", cf. ST ii *s.v. γw-*): "a proclamation was issued." In either case the spelling of the ending with ' is rather unusual. Is it intended to prevent confusion with *γwty* "self"?

l. 1[a]. *kw wγw'nh s'r*, translated by Gauthiot "pour qu'il fût nommé". The assumption that this is a Name-giving ceremony is certainly correct,[2] and Gauthiot was evidently connecting *wγw'nh*

[1] The connection of this word with OPers. *xšaθrita* (suggested by Henning *apud* Eilers, *ZDMG.*, 90, 171 n.), has therefore to be abandoned.

[2] The two slight difficulties raised by Gauthiot himself in his second footnote can be solved by comparison with parallel texts. (1) It seems usual to have a feast some days after the birth of the Bodhisattva, after which the soothsayers are called to examine the marks of the child. In accordance with the prophecy which they derive from these, the king chooses a name for his son (cf. Cowell-Rouse,

with the verb *γwn-* "to call", mentioned above. Dr. Henning draws my attention to a present stem *wxwn-* "to call out, shout", occurring in an unpublished Manichean text, M 549, which seems to confirm this assumption. Otherwise one might have thought it to be the same word as MPers. *xw'n* "table", on which see Henning, *BBB.*, p. 87, on 750.

l. 142. Read *βyr'm* instead of *γyr'm*.

l. 142. *n'γ* [*sic*].

l. 168. Read *šyrn'm* instead of *syrn'm*.

l. 18ᵇ. On pp. 17 ff. of the facsimile the numbering of the lines is out of order. Read on p. 17, ll. 18ᵇ–33ᵇ; on p. 18, ll. 34ᵇ–49ᵇ; on p. 19, ll. 50ᵇ–66ᵇ.

l. 52ᵇ. Read *ršt'wcry* instead of *ršt'wc'r*.

l. 244. *L' zy'm'k* [*sic*]. Cf. Tedesco, BSL., 23, 111.

l. 388. Read *ršt'wc'ry* instead of *rštw'wc'ry*.

l. 402. The edition has correctly, here and ll. 452, 55ᶜ, 37ᵈ, 660: *δwry z'yh kw-* (Impf.); ll. 481, 543, 603, 711, 767: *L' δwry z'yh šwt*.

l. 54ᶜ. *''prs* has the same meaning as Skr. *āpṛcch-*, cf. Konow, *NTS.*, xi, 44.

l. 7ᵈ. Read *pwny'nyh* instead of *pwny'nh*. This word is spelled in Manichean (unpublished) texts *pwrny'ny(y)'* (on the r, cf. Hansen, *BSOS.*, viii, 579).

l. 469. Read *wysp* (with final *p*) *''δcw* instead of *wyšn ''δcw*. This is actually a compound, the uncompounded expression being *wyspw ''δcw* VJ 126.137, etc. The use of a light stem without endings is only justified in compounds, and the form *wysp*, sporadically used as an uninflected adjective (e.g. SCE 561, *Vim.* 67, 117, VJ 615), has been deduced from compounds like *wyspγwn'y*, *wyspznk'n*, *wysp'rδ*, etc.

wysp- has in Sogdian, as in Avestan, a pronominal as well as a nominal inflection (cf. Reichelt, *ZII.*, vi, 208):—

Nom. *wysp(')y* SCE 542, VJ 186, and *wyspw*
Acc. *wyspw*
Fem. *wysp'* (SCE 492)

vi, 2 f., 54). Accordingly, one does not expect the name *swδ'šn* to be mentioned before the end of the prophecy unfortunately broken off at l. 14*a*. (ii) The Chinese version has at this point. "Les vingt milles femmes . . . sautèrent toutes de joie et le lait jaillit spontanément de leurs seins; c'est pourquoi on donna au prince héritier le nom de su-ta-na (Sudāna)." It is in order to introduce this etymology that this detail is mentioned here.

Pronominal.		*Nominal.*	
Gen.-Dat.	*wyspny*	Gen.-Dat.	*wyspy* (*Vim.* 112)
Abl.	Chr. *wyspn'* (B 49, 27)	Loc.	Chr. *wyspy'* (ST II)
Plur. Nom.	*wyspy* SCE 490.543		
Plur. Obl.	*wyspyšnw* [1] (SCE 538, *Intox. Sūtra* 38)		

The Oblique case of *wispāč* (< *wisp-āδč*) is *wyspn'c* or *wyspn'yc* (*'yc* = Neuter from *'yδy*). So far as this word is attested,[2] it is always preceded by *cn* (or *c'wn*), which requires the Ablative, so that we may even assume a contraction of *wisp(a)na āč* (or *īč*) into *wisp(a)nāč* (or *wisp(a)nīč*). B 49, 27, has, in fact, *cn wyspn' 'yc*.

l. 546. Read *zyrt'k* instead of *zyrn'k*.

l. 561. Read *pstnh* instead of *psth*. Cf. Lentz, ST II, p. 592c.

l. 618. *'γwt'ryh* [*sic*].

l. 635. Read *'γš'ywnh*, instead of *'γs'ywnh*.

l. 665. Read *'βs'nγ* instead of *'βs'nγ'*.

l. 687. *ZKw* [*sic*].

l. 32e. Read *w'βr* instead of *w'βy*. The meaning of this passage and the parallel ones has been explained by Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 517.

l. 65e. Read *zyw* "very much", instead of *'γw*.

l. 781. Read *βr'γzkyh* instead of *γr'γnkyh*. Cf. VJ 902, 1104.

l. 822. Read *w'βγz'γwksth* instead of *'wβγz'γwksth*. Cf. ST II, Gloss. *s.v.* *bwžxq*, and the correlative *c' 'βγz'γwksth*, VJ 825.

l. 836. Cut out the second *rty 'γw*. The MS. has: *rty 'γw ''δδβγ ZKw γr'γwh γwtty* (837) *m's'kw mrty wn'* "the God made himself an old man". Cf. VJ 1211 f.

l. 840 f. *'wyn . . swδ'šn . . pr ptrw'z'kw* means "in order to intercept, to meet S." *ptrw'z'k* may be connected with *nyc ptrwγšty* SCE 85, "avec le nez obstrué" and *'škwch 'ptr'γwštk r'β* SCE 390 "maladie du gosier obstrué". The intrusive *x* in *ptrwγšty* is the same as in *npxšt-* "to write" and *spxšt-* "to serve".

l. 858. Read *knδyh* instead of *knδh*. The meaning of this

[1] Although this is the general trend of the employment of *wysp-* in Buddhist texts, it is difficult to see how far this abundance of forms reflects the actual state of the language and what is merely historical spelling, since deviations from this scheme occur often enough. In Christian and Manichean texts *wyspw* is by far the prevailing form, not only in the Nominative but also in the Oblique cases; the following noun is usually in the singular, the verb in the plural.

[2] The examples (to which add *Padm.* 29, corrected by Benveniste, *BSOS.*, IX, 496; the explanation there proposed is not convincing) have been collected by Reichelt, loc. cit.

Sunlight and Moonshine

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE IV)

IT seems difficult and sometimes futile to try to pursue in this year 1942 the essentially peaceful studies in ancient Chinese writing that have appeared for many years in the *JRAS*.

Among the brilliant and original thinkers of the modern type of Chinese investigation into early human cultures, and especially that of their own ancient history, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo appears to hold a prominent place.

It is with one particular Work of the latter scholar, and one particular Essay in that Work, that I propose to deal at present. The Work is the *Chia Ku Wen Tzŭ Yen Chiu* 甲骨文字研究, *Investigations into the Writing on Tortoiseshell and Bone*, and the Essay, one of seventeen, is headed 釋蝕 *Shih Shih*, *On the Eclipse character*.

The author claims to have detected on the Honan Bones the records of certain Lunar Eclipses embodied in a phrase of two characters, the second of which has hitherto been undeciphered, while the first is, as he believes, the character for moon. The fact that he has not found any similar mention of a Solar Eclipse has induced him to account for this absence by a passage, which before we go further, deserves translation.

There is, he observes, one matter of surprise, and that is that the expression Eclipse of the Sun has not been found in the inscriptions of the Honan Find, while the term Lunar Eclipse occurs very often. The reason of this is, I suspect, that the Yin people did not much consider an eclipse of the sun to be a calamitous event, for the adoration of the 太陽 T'ai Yang principle was a development of a later age, and the ancients regarded the sun as something nefast and mischievous, 古人視日為妖 *ku jên shih jih wei yao*, as the legend of Hou I shooting at ten suns proves. And this was because Agriculture was only partly developed, the provision of houses and residences did not meet the needs of the population, the recognition of the Sun's beneficent action was scanty, while people were subjected to the sun's domination by the power of its torrid heatwaves. The implications of the subject are very important, and wherever questions concerning the origin of religious

faiths are discussed, are not to be ignored, 凡談宗教之起源者不可不知, *fan t'an tsung chiao chih ch'i yüan pu k'o pu chih*.

And with this admonition to Astronomers, Prehistorians, and others, the author closes this, his fifteenth Essay. So far we have gone in sunlight. And in a duly humble spirit, such, too, as befits the year 1942, when everybody warns everybody else against complacency, let us examine the grounds of Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's theorem of the Shang-Yin record of Lunar Eclipses. Mr. Kuo's claim is built round the recurrence of two characters in a small number only of inscriptions on the Honan relics. One of these characters was of unknown identity, the other a familiar form. And a notable feature of their inclusion in these texts is the exclusiveness they appear to insist on for their immediate neighbours in the contexts above and below them. These must be members of the Sexagenary Cycle. That is *de rigeur*. And of these members which run in pairs, the two pairs forming the guardians of our group of non-members, must be *contiguous* pairs in this Cycle of Sixty, thus, if for instance one pair stands fifteenth in the list, the other must be the sixteenth. Now the very stringency of these limitations greatly narrows the choice open to the investigator, for any proposed solution must be compatible with the requirements of its textual framework, in other words, it must make sense. This being assumed, is Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's understanding of the two characters in question compatible with their context, and does it make sense ? To that question the answer is yes, certainly, if we accept his decipherment of the two characters. Here they are, as copied by me from the photo-lithograph cited by Mr. Kuo in his Essay[1], and transcribed by him in modern Chinese as 月蝕 *yueh shih*. I add the relevant passage of the inscription in modern Chinese, 三日乙酉月蝕丙戌 *san jih i yu yüeh shih ping hsü*, "On the 3rd day, being *i yu*, the moon was eclipsed. The day *ping hsü* . . . ." Thus the moon's eclipse would be during the night between *i yu* and *ping hsü* (and by a curious coincidence there *was* a lunar eclipse on the night of 2nd February, between the time when I wrote the above Chinese passage and its transliteration, and the following morning when I added the English rendering).

[1] Citing the T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei 鐵雲藏龜, No. 185.

But this rendering I, for my part, cannot accept. And as I am about to cross swords with Mr. Kuo on this point, it is well that he should expound his theorem for himself.

In the first lines of his Essay he introduces the unknown character [character], and briefly describes its position and behaviour in the various texts on the Honan bones that exhibit it. Five pages later he cites in modern script a valuable and interesting passage from Lo Chên-yü's short Work,[1] the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Ching Hua*, of which Plate IV reproduces the whole inscription photographically. In doing this, and again in his comment, he has curiously misread and reproduced the form in question, the second of the three following, as [characters] *Chih yüeh shih*, which reading would tally with his contention, whereas the form really is, as Plate IV shows, [character] *hsi*, evening, which suits mine. The author continues, In early times there was frequent confusion in the use of the two characters 月 *yüeh* and 夕 *hsi*, month and evening. However, as a general statement, the form with an enclosed dash was *yüeh*, moon, the form without the dash was *hsi*, evening. Now, with all respect to Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, I assert that the direct reverse is the fact. That there has been some confusion between these two forms is certain, but perhaps more among the modern decipherers of these writings than at the hands of the scribes who incised them. But if here and there among these relics of the Shang-Yin age some such mis-written characters, due to negligence, oversight, or other mis-chance, may have been made, that would be little to wonder at, especially in view of the following temptation to error. In Shang-Yin times there were two related but different types of the character for *yüeh* the moon. One of these figured the crescent, from the mere) of the New Moon, waxing through various degrees of illumination to the Half Moon. This must have been the earliest as it was the most naturalistic design. The second type, probably of later introduction, was of a much stylized and artificial conception. The curves have become straight lines, the whole outline mainly triangular, and, what is specially important, within the base and parallel with it, is a shorter line continued at each end to the limiting sides of the figure. This modest and insignificant little line is responsible for much trouble among Chinese epigraphists not then

[1] Mr. Kuo's reference to this is wrong, it should be p. 5, not p. 3.

yet born, some, but not all, of whom have supposed this little line in the second type of *yüeh* the moon, to be a variant of the small dash or stroke within the character *hsi*, evening. A little more and it was *yüeh*, the moon, a little less and it was *hsi*, the evening. I may perhaps mention a feature of both types of *yüeh*, the moon, that in the first the two horns, and in the second, the two sides of the quasi-triangle, are often much prolonged, as in the two figures here shown, standing for the "monogram" 7th moon, (compare on same Bone the monogram 5th moon).

And one point more in these, I fear, tedious details. There exists one more variant of the moon character, and it may be a halfway compromise between the two types described above, and appears thus, with a short line outside the inner edge, and not within it. This variant is not common.

At this point we arrive at a question that certain of the modern Chinese scholars have raised regarding the apparent confusion and inconsistency prevailing in the texts of a number of Bone fragments where the query put to the apotheosized ancestor concerned the weather, and particularly the rainfall, in the immediate future. Very commonly it ran, Would it rain to-night, or would it not? The term used for "to-night" is in modern form, 今夕 *chin hsi*, and on the Honan Bones (where the small median line though seeming to be a separate character, is in fact a part of the A-shaped character above). Now what is baffling and surprising is that many times instead of this well-known and appropriate binary term *chin hsi*, we seem to come upon 今月 *chin yüeh*, an unknown and inappropriate expression, "this month." Such a compound is inappropriate because the appeal was to a Being whose guarantee of good weather did not extend beyond the scope of the *hsün* 旬, or ten day period about to begin when the appeal was launched. And in any case it would be unreasonable to ask for freedom from rain for a whole month. Accordingly, desiring if I could to help in clearing up the doubts about this "variable star" swimming in the stellar spaces of Celestial skies, I have carefully examined all the available instances of the term *chin hsi* as exhibited in the last sixteen pages of Volume I of Mr. Jung Kêng's valuable

Yin Ch'i Pu T'zŭ, Yin oracular inscriptions. Of these instances I have made a list of thirty-six, of which 夕 has twelve, and 月 *yüeh* eighteen, plus 6 *yüeh* with numerals (including one hermaphrodite monogram, No. 498 in Jung Kêng's series, I call it so because the figure combines the internal dash of *hsi* with the exterior augments of the mensual numbers). In the course of making this tiresome but necessary list I have come to certain conclusions. But let us first hear what Mr. Tung Tso-pin, as quoted by Mr. Jung Kêng, has to say. The short passage is on p. 62 of Volume 2 of the above named *Yin Ch'i Pu T'zŭ*. Mr. Tung's note relates to Fragment No. 540, and he observes that this phrase 今 月 *chin yüeh* [there so printed, but in the original, [illegible]] together with that in the preceding Fragment, No. 539, should both be 今 夕 *chin hsi*, this evening. In the engraved writing of the Early and Later Periods the two characters for *yüeh* month, and *hsi* evening had made a mutual exchange of their forms. This fragment mentions a Diviner [illegible] in the reign of Wu Ting of the Early Period when 月 *yüeh* month was written [illegible], and *hsi* evening, was [illegible]. In the Later Period, about the reign of the Emperor I and onwards, as in the two Fragments Nos. 462 and 463, *yüeh*, moon, again was written [illegible], and *hsi* evening, was written [illegible]. In a note on No. 122, Jung Kêng finds that on the Bones the two characters *yüeh* and *hsi* were interchanged, but he had not sufficiently examined the matter.

Such is Tung Tso-pin's view, which I do not desire or require to contest. But so far as this expression *chin hsi* goes, I am sure that the real explanation of the alleged confusion is a simple and commonplace one. It is a question of the size of the " type " used, to adopt our printer's term, and for statistical purposes I divided the thirty-one examples of the 今 夕 *chin hsi* combination under three heads, medium, small, and very small. Of the fifteen medium, eleven were complete with dash ; of the seven small, five were without dash ; of the very small, all were blank. Surely this is strong evidence in favour of my explanation of the apparent confusion, as being due to the natural desire to save trouble among the scribes, who, moreover, knew that the previous syllable 今 *chin* made it immaterial whether they wrote *hsi* or *yüeh*. And besides,

the phrase 今 月 *chin yüeh*, for this month, is not in use. I much doubt if this confusion is to be attributed to any general demoralization of the doomed and decadent dynasts of the Shang-Yin line.

And so to leave this dull digression and come to grips with my admired Chinese opposite number, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo. Mr. Kuo opens his Essay thus, The Oracular Sentences contain the character , often in syntactical relations with the *yüeh hsi* complex 每 與 月 夕 字 連 文 *mei yü yueh hsi tzŭ lien wên*, and inserted between two contiguous cycle pairs, being a foreshadowing of something sinister, 凶 咎 *hsiung chiu*. I have used the words "the *yüeh-hsi* complex" because although usually *yüeh hsi tzŭ* would mean *two* words *yüeh hsi*, Kuo does *not* mean that both *yüeh* and *hsi* are inserted together, for they are not, but only one of them, and I have tried to convey this non-committal attitude of the author as shown in the first sentence of his Essay. Non-committal and ambiguous by intention, and the author will lead us up the garden path to look at the moon—in eclipse. But what if we see no Moon, but only the Evening sky?

* * *

In support of his claim to have discovered records of lunar eclipses in the inscriptions on the Oracle relics from Honan, Mr. Kuo has found, transcribed in modern Chinese, and commented on nine relevant examples. His notes and comments are always interesting and valuable even if they do not always carry conviction. All these examples but one exhibit the two characters in question clearly cut and mostly in rather large type. The exception includes only the second character above and below which are the confining Cycle-couples, and this will need mention later. But here I must emphasize one point. A certain laxity and carelessness on the part of the scribes was noted and accounted for in dealing with the phrase 今 夕 *chin hsi*, this evening, among the passages in very small type, in the digression above. If this laxity could be ignored in those special contexts, no corresponding scribal deficiency in the larger and boldly written inscriptions we are to study now, could be tolerated or attempted. If therefore the character *hsi*, is thus presented, it must be taken at its face value, and accepted with its meaning of Evening or Night, and not with that of Moon.

One of the most valuable as well as most interesting of the nine examples illustrating Kuo's lunar eclipse record is the third. This is an extract from Plate V of Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Ch'ing Hua*, of which a photograph made for me appears on Plate IV in this Journal. Mr. Kuo first cites the extract in modern Chinese, but reproducing where necessary certain of the archaic characters, and then adds his own explanations of the text, and comments on particular details. To all this I, too, have something to say. First, I copy below the exact form of Kuo's citation :— 甲 辰 大 [archaic character] 風 之 [archaic character] [archaic character] 乙 巳 [archaic character] ■ 五 人 五 月 任 ■ *chia ch'ên ta* [?] *fêng chih yüeh shih i ssŭ* ■ *wu jên wu yüeh tsai* ■, and give a lame and broken English rendering, as from Mr. Kuo's point of view. On the day *chia-ch'ên* a great —— wind this moon eclipse on the day *i ssŭ* . . . (followed by character illegible through injury of bone surface) five men, fifth month (further injury to bone).

A few words as to the Plate. This exhibits several entries divided among three panels marked by two vertical lines. We are concerned with the left-hand panel which contains the passage before us, introduced by a formula, constantly occurring on the Honan relics, and running, On the day *kuei mao* (the last of the preceding decade) the Diviner So-and-so inquired whether the coming decade would be without mishap. This formula fills most of the first column, and is then followed by the first two characters of the citation. Then the next column is headed by 大 *ta*, great, and so on as above shown. The fourth character, of unknown identity, was conjectured by Mr. Yeh Yü-sên to be 靁 *lei*, thunder, but this equation has since been cancelled. I suggest tentatively the character 暴 *pao*, violent, would suit, for 暴 風 *pao fêng*, a fierce wind, and 暴 土 *pao t'u*, a dust storm, are well known terms. Wind is written here and elsewhere on the Bones by its homophone (in its modern shape) 鳳 *fêng*, the so-called Phœnix. The next character is the archaic scription of 之 *chih*, meaning this, and is an alternative word to 今 *chin* in certain combinations. The eleventh is an unequated character, and Kuo reasonably supposes it to bear the meaning of "attack", and that the whole passage holds an implication of disaster 含 凶 咎 *han hsiung chiu*.

Lastly, and most important, the Plate contains both the figure [archaic character] *hsi* (middle of second column) and [archaic character] *yüeh*, moon

To face p. 10*.

(last but one in third column). Would anyone argue that the scribe would write two different forms to express the same word? Now this penultimate character is fixed beyond question by the preceding numeral X, which looks like our 10 but is 5. Then the first character *must* be *hsi* evening. I do not see how this conclusion can be avoided. And we shall be free from that strange complex which Mr. Kuo writes 月 夕 字 *yüeh-hsi-tzŭ*, and seems, if I may say so, to be in his deft hands something between a graphic hermaphrodite and a quick-change artiste.

There is one point to be noticed about this passage in the Plate. It is that it furnishes the only example among the nine cited, where other characters, besides the two so-called moon eclipse (*yüeh shih*), are added between the two barricading cycle couples (*chia ch'ên* above and *i ssŭ* below). Here there are four, three being the *ta pao fêng*, conjectured by me to indicate a violent dust-storm. Incidentally the author thought the omen foreboded little good to the five men in the fifth moon!

To sum up, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo has found a combination of two characters on the Honan Relics, which he believes represent the modern term 月 蝕 *yüeh shih*, lunar eclipse. The first of these characters is well known, the second is unknown. Unless the first is correctly equated, his theory falls to the ground. I believe I have shown that 月 *yüeh* is not the correct equation, and that 夕 *hsi* evening or night is. Assuming for the moment that the second character has been rightly identified, would 夕 蝕 *hsi shih*, mean lunar eclipse? It would not. It would, if it existed at all in current speech, seem to mean the evening meal, a sense unsuitable for Mr. Kuo's claim who, to be sure, would agree that the ancient scribes would have seen to it that they had their evening meal without needing to pester any apotheosized ancestor about it.

Well, it might be urged, your argument so far has been purely destructive, have you any alternative and constructive substitute to put forward? And the reply would be Yes, I have such a substitute. A word that would conform to the conditions required by the nature of the context, and one that would make sense. It is 晦 *hui*, the dark of the moon. The archaic form of *hui* is as yet undiscovered though there must have been one, for the Chinese of antiquity were well acquainted with the moonless night that recurred once every thirty days. It is no great wonder that this archaic character remains hitherto untraced, for it shares that

lot with several hundred other intriguing and defiant forms. I may point out that this proposed solution of [archaic character] would also clear up a difficulty that has puzzled Mr. Kuo, in his fifth example,[1] where it fills the space between two contiguous Cycle dates, 辛 亥 *hsin hai* above, and 壬 子 *jên tzŭ* below, without its usual associate, and has driven the author into the arms of an eclipse of the sun, as the only way out. Reading this passage as I propose, we should have, "In the moonless night between the days *hsin hai* and *jên tzŭ*, . . . ," surely preferable to a black-out of the sun in the daytime, as Kuo postulates under stress.

And so to end with two versions in English of the main passage we have had under review, first Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's, as I imagine he would accept it, Between the day *chia ch'ên* and the following day *i ssŭ* a great (undeciphered) wind and this lunar eclipse; and mine, Between the day *chia ch'ên* and the following day *i ssŭ* a great violent wind, and at evening the moonless night.

So there is the issue plain to see. In the circumstances the margin for error is narrow. One of the two solutions must be accepted. They cannot *both* be Moonshine.

* * *

After the dark of the Moon the light of the noonday Sun.

* * *

Since writing the above, I have come by chance on a passage which confirms my argument contesting Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's claim to have discovered several Honan Bone records of a lunar eclipse. This confirmation by Mr. T'ang Lan, perhaps the highest authority on archaic Chinese script, will be found in his *T'ien Jang Ko Chia Ku Wên T'sun*, last column of p. 12 and first of p. 13. Here, instead of Kuo's *yueh shih*, lunar eclipse, T'ang reads *hsi liang*, evening fair, where I have suggested *hsi hui*, evening moonless. In point of *form* of the character, T'ang's *liang* is very plausible and attractive. So far as the sense is affected, the mention of a pleasant evening seems in the circumstances to be tinged with something of banality, unless indeed, which I do not know, the phrase was an accepted euphemism to avoid the sinister connotation of the syllable *hui*, remorse or regret, much as we say, "in case of anything happening to me," meaning "in case of my death."

[1] Cited from Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Ch'ien Pien*, p. 33.

Magical Terms in the Old Testament

By ALFRED GUILLAUME

THE following study[1] of some Hebrew words of magical import is a sequel to my *Prophecy and Divination*.[2] Its purpose is to supply philological evidence for the existence of sorcery and magic in Israel.

The first of these words is הַוָּה,[3] which can hardly be said to have a clearly defined meaning in Hebrew dictionaries. In *BDB*. it is said to have two meanings: "1, desire; 2, chasm, fig. destruction," the Arabic هاوِيَة deep pit, and the Syriac ܗܘܬܐ gulf, chasm, being cited as authorities for the second and more commonly assigned significance, while the first meaning is supported by the Arabic هَوًى "desire". Now every student of Hebrew must be conscious of the inadequacy of the rendering "gulf", particularly in such a context as Ps. lvii, 2, "until engulfing ruin be over-past."[4] Again, "destruction," however suitable a word to describe the calamities the psalmists' enemies bring upon them, simply adds another Hebrew synonym to an overloaded English word, though by its use translators can conceal the difficulty inherent in the word. The rendering "destruction" must be rejected as too general, and the alternative "engulfing ruin" because it is unsuitable: a traveller may pass by a gulf but a gulf does not pass away!

We come now to *BDB.'s* first explanation of the meaning, namely "desire". The reason for asserting that the same word can stand for desire and destruction, and indeed for importing the Arabic هوى "desire"[5] should be cogent. Of course one Hebrew word may conceal two (or more) words of different origin, but if one meaning adequately covers all known instances of the word's use, the adoption of a second meaning may be called in question.

As a good many texts will be referred to, it will make this study

[1] It has been severely compressed owing to the shortage of paper.

[2] London, 1938, 274.

[3] Never used in its simple form. In the singular it is found only in the construct, or with a suffix; more often it is in the plural.

[4] S. R. Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, Oxford, 1898.

[5] I am inclined to think that this word and its associates are derived from a root meaning "to blow", and that "desire" is a secondary idea.

simpler if the eighteen occurrences of הַוָּה[1] in the Hebrew Bible[2] are set out :—

Is. xlvii, 11	ובא עליך רעה לא תדעי שַׁחְרָהּ
	ותפל עליך הֹוָה לא תוכלי כפרה
Ez. vii, 26	הֹוָה על הֹוָה תבא
Mic. vii, 3	והגדול דבר הַוַּת נפשו
Pr. x, 3	לא ירעיב י״ נפש צדיק וְהַוַּת רשעים יהדף
xi, 6	צדקת ישרים תצילם וּבְהַוַּת בגדים ילכדו
Job. vi, 2	לו שקול ישקל כעשי וְהַיָּתִי (הַוָּתִי Q.) במאזנים ישאו יחד
xxx, 13	נתסו נתיבתי לְהַוָּתִי (לְהַיָּתִי Qor.) יעילו לא עזר למו
Ps. lii, 9	ויבטח ברב עשרו יעז בְּהַוָּתוֹ
v, 10	אין בפיהו נכונה קרבם הַוּוֹת
xxxviii, 13	דברו הַוּוֹת ומרמות כל היום יהגו
lii, 4	הַוּוֹת תחשב לשונך כתער מלטש עשה רמיה
lv, 12	הַוּוֹת בקרבה . . . תוך ומרמה
lvii, 2	עד יעבר הַוּוֹת
xci, 3	יצילך מפח יקוש מִדֶּבֶר[3] הוות
xciv, 20	היחברך כסא הַוּוֹת
Pr. xvii, 4	שקר מזין על לשון הַוֹּת
xix, 13	הַוֹּת לאביו בן כסיל ודלף טרד מדיני אשה
Jb. vi, 30	היש בלשוני עולה אם חכי לא יבין הַוּוֹת

The first example in the Concordance places us on the right path to the interpretation of this word. In Is. xlvii, 11, הֹוָה is paralleled by the misfortune which the Babylonians are impotent to *charm away*. The enchantments and sorceries of the Babylonians are referred to in unequivocal language (חברים and כשפים), so that there can be no doubt of its magical context. Practically all

[1] And the cognate הֹוָה.

[2] So Mandelkern, 309a.

[3] Vss. here and in v. 6 read דֶּבֶר and דָּבָר.

scholars agree in rendering שחר by "charm away" (as in the R.V. m.) rightly abandoning the R.V. text "dawn thereof".

הוה then, is an evil of magical origin which cannot be averted or removed by an offering.[1] Further, as 8 out of the remaining 17 instances plainly show, הוות *are connected with the organs of speech or with a verb that denotes utterance*, so that an incantation or curse is implied.

Before we examine a few of the remaining texts the philological connection of הוות with cursing must be established, because existing Hebrew dictionaries give us no encouragement in this direction. In Accadian a verb of similar form *amû* or *awû* bears the meanings speak, announce, lay a curse upon, take an oath, swear. The noun *awâtu* (*amâtu*) means speech, announcement, while the form *māmītu* means tabu, curse, or ban, and the goddess of the cursing ban.[2]

Bezold[3] equates the ambiguous form of the Accadian verb with חוי while Muss-Arnolt[4] postulates a root אמה with a reference to Halevy's[5] suggestion that it is the same as ימי. In Syriac ܝܡܐ or ܝܡܐ means "to swear", and is probably formed directly from its Assyrian predecessor, while the root maintained its early connection with the demonic world in the forms ܡܘܡܬܐ and ܡܘܡܝܬܐ exorcism.

Nearly half a century ago a most important collection of Assyrian magical texts which bear the name *Maqlu* was published.[6] These consist of spells and incantations directed against sorcerers (and sorceresses). The word *amâtu* occurs no less than 30 times in these tablets[7] and almost always in the sense of "evil word(s) of power". Sometimes it is defined by *limuttum* "evil"; once at least it is the word of power of Ea, the supreme god; but normally it stands

[1] Diodorus Siculus: "They (the Babylonians) try to avert evil and procure good, either by purifications, sacrifices, or enchantments." Lenormant, *Chaldaean Magic*, 12.

[2] Langdon renders "curse", *Semitic Mythology*, 372. For the correspondence of Hebrew *waw* and Assyrian *mêm*, cf. לוה and *lamû* מוה and *lamû* (*lawû*), etc. See also Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 139.

[3] *Babylonisch-Assyriaches Glossar*, 1926, 2 f. But it has the meaning "declare" only in the second conjugation.

[4] *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Berlin, 1905.

[5] *Transactions of the Leyden Or. Congress*, ii, 1, 546.

[6] By K. Tallqvist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlu*, 1894. Many important additions and a revised translation was published by G. Meier (without notes) under the title *Die assyrische Beschwörungssamlung Maqlu*, Berlin, 1937.

[7] I have counted thirty in Meier's edition.

alone needing neither explanation nor qualification [1] as the dreaded instrument of the sorcerer's art.

Thus Accadian points to the meaning "word of power" or "binding curse", which fits all the uses of the word in Hebrew, though in some cases [2] it has become weakened. Further justification of this rendering will be given in the discussion of Ps. xciv, 20. Assuming the philological identity of the Accadian *amâtu* and the Hebrew הוות we may examine some of the more obscure passages where the word occurs.

First the ground must be cleared of the erroneous meaning "desire" assigned to הוות in Mic. vii, 3; Prov. x, 3; xi, 6; and Ps. lii, 9. Obviously there can be no justification for thinking that while דבר הות נפשו means speaking the *desire* of his soul, דברו הוות in Ps. xxxviii, 13, means speak *engulfing ruin.* The same verb with the same object must mean the same thing, which is neither desire nor engulfing ruin but cursing.[3] It may be right to emend Ps. lii, 9, and read בהונו "by his wealth" with the Peshitta and Targum, because הוות were apparently uttered to bring destruction on one's enemies rather than to procure riches for oneself; but no advantage is gained by rendering "waxing strong through his evil desire".[4] Prov. xi, 6, when read in conjunction with verse 9*a*: "with his mouth the profane destroyeth his neighbour" can mean nothing but that the treacherous are destroyed by their own cursing which fails to injure the righteous, a doctrine which occurs elsewhere in Proverbs and is established both in Judaism and Islam.[5]

We are left with one more example of הוה with the alleged meaning "desire", namely Prov. x, 3. The R.V. renders thus :—

> The Lord will not suffer the soul of the righteous to famish :
> But he thrusteth away the desire of the wicked.

Here the translators have not done justice to the principle of antithetic parallelism. Soul, says Toy,[6] is "the personality with special reference to desire or appetite". This is true of the passages he cites in defence of this rendering of נפש, and if it held good here

[1] E.g. i. 70, *amatsunu lippašir*, May your word (of power) be loosed !

[2] Notably Prov. xix. 13.

[3] It is strange that "ruin" and "destruction" have survived so long without anyone asking who the speakers were, and how they got the power which is attributed to them.

[4] See Lexicon.

[5] *Pr. and D.* 256.

[6] Proverbs, ICC., 199.

the case for "desire" in the second half of the couplet would be strong. But the meaning of נֶפֶשׁ is dependent on the meaning of the verse as a whole. If we are right in maintaining that הַוָּה means a magical curse, then רָעֵב can have nothing to do with hunger, and we must look elsewhere for its meaning. It is found in Arabic where رَعَبَ means to tremble, to compose rhymes, to make spells, hence رَاعِب charmer or threatener. The common root רָעֵב meaning hungry (= رَغِبَ to be gluttonous) has been accepted without question and has driven the rare word from the Hebrew Lexicon.[1] Restoring it we may render :—

The Lord will not allow the soul of the righteous to be spellbound :
And the binding curse of the wicked he shall thrust away.

It will not have escaped notice that the verb הָדַף is always applied to objects, or as here, an entity conceived as an object. A curse was conceived as a concrete, moving, object[2] : the same cannot be said of "desire".

The ancient versions give us little help towards an understanding of the word. For the most part the LXX guess at the meaning. They knew of a root meaning desire in Mic. vii, 3 ; but elsewhere they contented themselves with such general terms as lawlessness, destruction, folly, unrighteousness, confusion (Ps. xci, 3), and shame (Pr. xix, 13). The Targum gives the renderings confusion, lies, property (Pr. x, 3), wickedness, misfortune, grievous (Pr. xix, 13). From these facts it may be said with some justification that whatever be the meaning of הַוָּה it was not recognized officially by the translators. It would not be safe to assert that they did not *know* what the word meant, for there is an interesting and significant note on Ps. xci, 3, in *Mid. Till.*[3] In company with LXX, Sym., and Pesh. the Rabbis read מִדַּבַּר הַוּוֹת not מִדֶּבֶר הַוּוֹת and explained the phrase thus : מִדָּבָר שֶׁמֵּבִיא הֹוָה לָעוֹלָם to which Jastrow supplies the rendering "from the word that brings misfortune to the world". What can such a word be but that of sorcerers or demonic agencies ? It cannot be argued that it is God's word that

[1] Perhaps the difficult phrase יְהִי רָעֵב אֹנוֹ in Job xviii, 12, is to be rendered "His strength is spell-bound". Driver and Gray in *ICC*. express no confidence in the renderings hitherto suggested. Further the difficult passage Ezek. v, 16, 17, yields a better sense if we translate רָעָב by "curse".

[2] Cf. Ps. lvii, 2, "until cursing spells pass by" or "away".

[3] Quoted in *Num. R.s.* 12.

the Psalmist is thinking of, for he is seeking refuge in God from its terror; nor could he have spoken of God's action as the "snare of the fowler". Thus we see that the real meaning of הוות was preserved in men's memories despite the official translation of the Synagogue.[1]

So far we have considered texts where there is a translation which can pass muster and has been accepted by scholars whatever their private misgivings.

But there is one passage in which הוות is used (הַיְחָבְרְךָ כִּסֵּא הוות יֹצֵר עָמָל עֲלֵי חֹק)[2] which none can feel happy about. It is familiar to thousands in the form :—

> Wilt thou have anything to do with the stool of wickedness :
> Which imagineth mischief as a law ?

and provokes an indulgent smile at its every repetition. But after all the R.V. is little better :—

> Shall the throne of wickedness have fellowship with thee,
> Which frameth mischief by statute ?

With this latter rendering Professor Oesterley, the author of the latest commentary on the Psalms[3] is in substantial agreement :—

> Hath the throne of destruction fellowship with thee,
> Which frameth mischief against the statute.

But he adds "the verse is difficult and susceptible of more than one interpretation".

Quite apart from the question as to what הוות really means it must be admitted that (a) it is the Lord who has been addressed hitherto and it is natural to conclude that the psalmist is still addressing Him : in that case the verse seems anything but appropriate ; (b) a throne does not plot nor frame mischief ; and consequently (c) the word "throne" *must* conceal the agent, though no other meaning can be assigned to כִּסֵּא.

[1] Another important clue survives in the Syr. of Ps. xvii, 4. [Syriac text illegible]. This word [Syriac illegible] by which Syr. translates both און and הוות is extremely interesting. The Syriac lexicographers explain it by عيّاب. متعين and مستعد للشر or للبلاء, i.e. (a) slanderer ; (b) man with the evil eye ; and (c) bringer of evil or calamity. Lane and Dozy give no hint of the magical associations of this word ; but I have found it in al-Jahiz. In the second book of his *Ḥayawân*, 51, he says that عان فلانا means "he smote him with the eye". So here we have definite proof that the Syriac translators recognized the magical character of the word.

[2] Ps. xciv, 20.

[3] Vol. ii, 418.

Therefore we, must look for a word which has the same consonants and has a clear connection with the meaning that we are bound to ascribe to הוות. Accadian supplies the word. It is *kasû* "to bind" or "to ban". But more than that we actually find כסא and הוות in their Accadian dress standing together.[1] The passage runs as follows :—

ša māmit [2] ukaszušu	Whom the ban has bound.
ša puú limnu izzurušu	Whom the evil mouth has reviled.
ša lišānu limuttum irrušu	Whom the evil tongue has cursed.

Thus it becomes clear that כסא conceals the meaning "binder of spells" and all that we have to do is to read the consonants with the vowels of the active participle (כֹּסֵא) and render :—

> Can he that bindeth spells charm thee,
> He that deviseth mischief against the statute ?

It seems preferable to connect חבר with magic, as it undoubtedly has a magical import in Ps. lvii, 6, and Dt. xviii, 11, though, of course, those who cling to the idea of fellowship can retain it and render :—

> Can he that bindeth spells have fellowship with thee ?

In either case "the statute" is the law against sorcerers found in three books of the Law. The subject of the psalm is the prosperity of the sorcerers and other evildoers who act as though there were no God in heaven to avenge his servants on earth. The psalmist complains that they have brought about the death of the righteous, and he appeals to God to destroy them. The appeal in the verse under discussion is rhetorical, such as we find in Gen. xviii, 23, "Wilt thou consume the righteous with the wicked ?" and the psalmist is asking a question to which there can be but one answer : Can a wizard put a spell upon thee or, less likely, Can a wizard be in alliance with Thee ?

A similar explanation of the verb כסה can be applied to Prov. x, 6 and 11 :

ברכות לראש צדיק   ופי רשעים יכסה חמס
מקור חיים פי צדיק   " " " "

In the first of these the R.V. "Violence covereth the mouth of the wicked" could be accepted as a translation if it stood alone ;

[1] On tablet iv[b]a 65–6.
[2] *Māmû* is a noun formed from *amû*, v.s.

but a comparison with the second shows that it must be wrong because in the second the antithesis is irretrievably lost with the same rendering. The sense of both passages can be recovered by rightly translating the verb :—

> "A fountain of life is the mouth of the righteous
> But the mouth of the wicked uttereth baneful spells." [1]

Finally this interpretation of כסא (כסה) is attested by the noun כסת in Ezek. xiii, 18, 20, of which Ephrem Syrus [2] says: "These are like amulets which they (the women) bind upon their arms, and bring forth an oracle for those who inquire of them from their arms, like magicians and soothsayers who utter cries." Origen notes that ὁ Ἑβραῖος renders φυλακτήρια. There can be no doubt from what Ezekiel says of the "prophetesses" that they were sorceresses practising well-known magical rites. As there are so few undisputed references to magical arts it is worth while noting the words which are used, namely, שוא, רשע, שקר, כזב, צוד.

Elsewhere the conception of evil wishes or curses as missiles, especially arrows, going forth to wound and destroy has been illustrated.[3] The verb employed in Arabic and Hebrew is רמה "to shoot" and this is the root of מרמה generally rendered "deceit" and of רמיה.[4] Hebrew usage associates the action of launching active ill-will with the verbs שית, רנה,[5] דבר, עשה, and דרך, all of which treat מרמה as a concrete object. In one psalm [6] a unique expression is used :—

פיך שלחת ברעה ולשונך תצמיד מרמה

Nowhere else does the Hiphil of צמד to bind or join, occur. Our Lexicon renders: "thy tongue combineth (fitteth together, frameth) deceit," retaining the identity of the verb with צֶמֶד "a pair". To combine is not to frame, but to join one thing to another as in Num. xxv, 3, 5; Ps. cvi, 28 (*pi'el*); and 2 Sam. xx, 8 (*pu'al*); and therefore the R.V. rendering "frameth" together with its forerunners περιέπλεκε and *concinnabat* must be regarded as

[1] Toy (*ICC.*) gives up 6*b* and renders 11*b*, "Violence envelops the mouth of the wicked"; Kittel and others would emend the text.
[2] Quoted by G. A. Cooke (*ICC.*, 145) who has collected many ancient references to the black art.
[3] *Pr. and Dir.*, 276 f., 282 f.
[4] The sense of untrustworthiness is probably to be sought in Accadian where [illegible] means to become loose (cf. קשת רמיה) as well as to throw.
[5] Op. cit., 248, 281 ff.
[6] 50, 19.

paraphrases. Context and parallelism require a verb of stronger import, and this is forthcoming in the Arabic سمى to strike at someone with a stick. Thus the verse may be rendered :—

> Thy mouth thou shootest forth with evil
> And thy tongue smiteth with slander.

It has been shown that the synonyms for slander and calumny are words denoting physical violence, and are taken from the armoury of the primitive sorcerer and medicine man.[1]

Another word of quasi-magical import is בלע, to swallow, to devour, and so to destroy. In its literal sense it is frequently used ; as the culmination of successful incantation less often. Ps. lii, speaks of the tongue that wounds like a sharp razor and that uses words that *swallow up* an enemy. The enemy in Ps. xxxv, tears unceasingly as he composes evil spells (see v. 20), and the psalmist prays that they may not be able to say " we have swallowed him up " if and when they encompass his downfall, and he ends with a counter-curse against them. Similarly the " devouring storm " in Ps. lv, 10, is a torrent of curse-bringing words.

This verse has been ingeniously reconstructed by Professor Driver[2] who renders :—

> " I will haste me to a refuge from a calumnious spirit,
> From the storm of slander, O Lord (and) the altercation of tongues."

Such is the sense of the verse in terms of modern thought ; but it would be better to render " hostile wind " first because סערה and סער, with which רוח is frequently associated, always indicate a wind and not a spirit ; and secondly because a whirlwind was frequently invoked by Arabian soothsayers and sorcerers.[3]

[1] A list of the synonyms of slander and insult in Arabic will be found in Al-Hamadhānī's *K. al-Alfāẓ al-kitābīya*, Beyrut, 1885, 20 ff.

[2] *JTS.*, xxiii, 40.

[3] The objections against importing the Arabic بلغ to explain בלע (suitable though it is as a word denoting slander) are (i) that it would be an anticlimax here ; and (ii) it would involve a departure from the parallel usages of the verb elsewhere, see esp. Ecc. x, 12 ; Lam. ii, 16. The ancients thought that their words wounded and even ate up their enemies, and " slander " is an accommodation to modern ways of thinking. Further it may be said that the idea underlying the Arabic بلاغ " slanderer " is not " reporting " (Driver) but *reaching the mark*. To the Arab the بلاغ was not the man who spread false reports, but the one whose potent words (cf. بلاغة eloquence) *assailed* his victim. Is this the meaning of the name Balaam ? Similarly سمى and [illegible] " slandered " both derive their meaning from the idea of energetic attack which is their fundamental significance.

The word מרמה occurs in an interesting context in Prov. xiv, 25:—

מציל נפשות עד אמת וְיָפִחַ כזבים מִרְמָה

The R.V. runs:—

> A true witness delivereth souls
> But he that uttereth lies (causeth) deceit.

This is trite. Some satisfying antithesis to "one who saves lives" is imperatively called for, and, too, an agent not an object is required. LXX δόλιος is better than R.V., but does not take us far enough. The Targum paraphrases thus: "A lying witness is a רַגְלָא, i.e. slanderer." This is getting nearer to the original meaning, which perhaps is hinted at in the Vulgate's *versipellis* with its interesting association with ancient magic. The point is that true testimony can save an accused man's life, while false swearing will bring about his death. Earlier commentators[1] who proposed to read מְדַמֶּה saw this quite clearly. But there is no need to tamper with the consonantal text if the word is a survival from an age when sorcerers could bring about men's deaths by their spells, and we may read מְרַמֶּה for מִרְמָה leaving the consonantal text unaltered.[2] The liar in the lawcourts is as dangerous as the sorcerer in the covert. That there was an interrelation between מִרְמָה and murder is shown by Ps. v, 7, which promises that God will destroy liars and death-dealing slanderers דֹּבְרֵי כָזָב אִישׁ דָּמִים וּמִרְמָה.[3] Whether we read "men of bloodshed and slander" or "bloodshedder(s) and slanderer(s) the relations between falsehood and death and slander remains unaffected. Even when it is probable that the ominous character of מִרְמָה was obsolescent the memory of its dangerous nature is preserved: it was a deadly missile, cf. Pr. xxvi, 18, 19:—

> "Like a madman that shooteth firebolts and deadly arrows
> So is he that slandereth (רִמָּה) his neighbour."

Two unusual words occur in Ps. lxii, one in a strange form, while the other is a *hapax legomenon*: —

עד־אנה תהותתו על־איש תרצחו כלכם כקיר נטוי

[1] Cf. *ICC.* in loc.

[2] Cf. ܢܦܠ ܥܠ = διαβάλλειν and ܢܦܠ ܥܠ} to attack, to *throw*.

[3] Notice פֹּעֲלֵי און in this connection.

Before looking at the two verbs more closely it should be noted that verse 5 explicitly refers to those who curse the psalmist,[1] so that there is an *a priori* likelihood that we shall find some reference to the words and actions of sorcerers. Coming then to תהותתו we note that the Hebrew Lexicon renders "shout at" and refers to the Syrian expression هوّت على which (Wetzstein) means to "rush upon one with cries and upraised fist". It *is*, however, precarious to forsake classical Arabic and to follow later usage which is likely to be an adaptation or development of an older meaning—here doubtless a denominative verb from هوتة which in classical Arabic meant a curse, as in the phrase صبّ الله عليه هوتة وموتة an imprecation so ancient that Ibn Sīda the lexicographer confessed ignorance of its meaning. Lane (2905*a*) adds the comment: "It probably signifies a cry such as destroyed the tribe of Thamood," quoting the *Lisān al-'Arab*. From shouting at a man or cursing him in a well known formula an opponent might easily pass to physical violence, and so in modern times هوتة may well have advanced from cursing to open attack. At any rate if هوّت be derived from هوتة and הותת refer back to הוות the connection with the language of the sorcerer is clear.

The strange pointing of תְּרָצְּחוּ in the second half of the verse indicates that there is something unusual about the word. Yet it is quite a common verb, being the ordinary word for murdering. Three other variants in the pointing are known to the Masoretes, only one—the *pi'el* form—being a normal formation. There can be no doubt that the verb is active: the pointing which seems to suggest a *pu'al* may have been due to a misunderstanding or to the punctuators' desire to indicate that the word is not to be understood in the common sense of the root in Hebrew.[2] The only root which gives a satisfactory sense is the Arabic رضح to butt at, and accordingly the verse may be rendered:—

> How long will ye utter curses against a man,
> Thrusting at him as though he were a tottering wall?

It might be thought that this rendering obscures the parallelism;

[1] בקרבם יקללו.

[2] Too much weight must not be laid on this point, because in the *pu'al* ŏ sometimes occurs instead of ŭ, see *G.K.*, 143 *g*.

ut the general thesis of this study is that words of wounding and ssault were the weapons of the tribal poets, wizards, calumniators, nd satirists of the Semites. Thus a fair paraphrase adapted to nodern thought would be : How long will you slander men, bringing hem to disaster like a tottering wall ?

Another word which seems to belong to the language of effective nalediction is עיר.[1] The only occasion when it is accompanied y a synonym the corresponding term is בהלה which as I have explained elsewhere means a curse-borne calamity.[2] Following up his clue we find that Arabic shows us what the word signifies. عيّر means both to cause harm and to revile—the double function of the curse—while عار is used for the shame and disgrace into which the object of the attack is brought. Thus the meaning of הפלתי עליה פתאם עיר ובהלות would appear to be " I will bring down upon her suddenly the ruin of execration ". Applying the same suggestion to Hos. xi, 9, we get :—

> " I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger
> I will not destroy Ephraim again . . .
> And I will not come with a curse."

instead of " I will not enter the city " (R.V.).[3]

Many of the proverbs of the O.T. are devoted to the subject of cursing, and though it would be hazardous always to read back into them the meaning which some of the words once bore it can be claimed that despite the comparatively late date of the Book of Proverbs the ancient effectiveness of the curse is still an object of fear. It is not always the professional sorcerer who curses : anyone may utter a curse or an imprecation, carelessly (26, 18) ; without active malice (30, 10) ; or undeservedly (26, 2). But probably the professional curse-bringer is the subject of 6, 12–15.

This passage is of great interest because it contains a remarkable example of the principle of synonymous parallelism in Hebrew poetry. Here the normal method of repeating in the second half of the verse the thought of the first is developed into a subtle

[1] Found only in Jer. xv, 8, and Hos. xi, 9. In Ps. lxxiii, 20, בהעיר is to be understood.

[2] *P. and D.* This meaning was known to the Greek translators of Is. lxv, 23, who rendered לבהלה by *εἰς κατάραν*.

[3] RVm. " come in wrath " a not unhappy guess. In both these cases the curse is of divine origin. The context in Hosea plainly refers to an irresistible judgment such as befell the cities of the plain and is again referred to in connection with a divine curse in Jer. xx, 15, 16.

and skilfully arranged section of 8 verses: the members of the first three verses (12–14) correspond exactly with those of the last three (17–19), the two intermediate verses expressing the divine judgment on what has been said and what is about to be said. To bring out the parallelism the first three verses are printed in the order of the Hebrew and the last three are placed opposite so as to show the correspondence of the terms :—

	אדם בליעל איש און	יפיח כזבים עד שקר
v. 12	הולך עקשות פה	לשון שקר
	קרץ בעיניו	עינים רמות
	מלל ברגליו	רגלים ממהרות לרוץ לרעה
13	מרה באצבעתיו	ידים שפכות דם נקי
	תהפכות בלבו חרש[רע]	לב חרש מחשבות און
14	בכל עת מדינים ישלח	משלח מדנים בין אחים

It will be noted that the actions described are those of Arabian sorcerers to-day and of the medicineman of all times. קֹרֵץ means to pinch or screw up the eye, and exactly describes what is known as "the evil eye"; מֹלֵל בְּרַגְלוֹ refers to certain inimical movements, probably a form of sympathetic magic,[1] while מֹרֶה בְּאֶצְבְּעֹתָיו is the distinguishing mark of the ill-wisher. The Arabs use the first finger (they call it السبّابة the curser) in imprecation and it is known that the Babylonian sorcerers pointed with the fingers at their intended victims. To this day "in Egypt the outstretched hand pointed at someone is used to invoke curse. They say yukhammisunā, or 'he throws his five at us', i.e. he curses. Not only the hand but also the forefinger is used for this purpose".[2]

One or two points deserve further notice: (*a*) it would seem that עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת should be read עֵ׳ רֹמִיּוֹת to correspond more closely with the action of the evil eye; (*b*) יָפִיחַ is certainly a noun[3] "one who puffs out lies in false accusation". Blowing and spitting in magical

[1] There is no real opposition between R.V. "speaks", LXX σημαίνει, A. τρίβων, and Targum חלם. The idiom is explained, *P. and D.*, 173.

[2] S. M. Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, London, 1920, 84. "Throw" is exactly the force of מֹרֶה in a magical sense. In ancient Egypt 'the finger of God' *dd ntrw* was a sign of divine activity and was commonly used in magical acts. Pharaoh's sorcerers complained of its power in Ex. viii, 19 (cf. also Ex. xxxi, 18, Dt. x, 9, and Lk. xi, 20).

[3] Cf. עֵדֵי שֶׁקֶר וִיפֵחַ חָמָס Ps. xxvii, 12. In Prov. xiv, 5, where our phrase recurs, עֵדֵי שָׁקֶר must be predicative.

and anti-magical practice is too well known to need documentation[1]: it is practised to this day in Arabia. Lastly is "strife" an adequate rendering of מדון? It is generally brought under the root דין to judge, and thus its connection with contention in the courts and, by an easy transition, wherever men dispute, is established. But some doubt may be cast on the assumption that such must always be its meaning. In some instances[2] a stronger word seems to be demanded, and if we have recourse to the Arabic دان "to revile", a better sense is obtained, particularly if its frequent synonym ריב bears the meaning "suspicion" or "doubt" which it has in Arabic.

We may add yet another word to the Hebrew lexicon if we accept the evidence of the Greek translators and look for the meaning they give. A word of common occurrence in the prophetic and poetic literature of the Hebrews is זעם and its meaning of "indignation" or "anger" is well attested. It is generally and probably rightly equated with the Arabic زغم and the Syriac ܙܥܡ. But there are at least three contexts where it is forced to yield the sense "curse". These passages are (a) Num. xxiii, 7, 8, 8; (b) Prov. xxiv, 24; and (c) xxv, 23, the latter being rendered "stirred with indignation".[3]

In (a) the parallel verbs are קבב[4] and ארר, both indubitably meaning "curse"; and in (b) the parallel verb is again קבב. The LXX. render (a) ἐπικαταρᾶσθαι and καταρᾶσθαι without more ado, while in (b) μισητός runs parallel with ἐπικατάρατος. The case of (c) is rather more difficult and will be discussed after the philological foundation for a root meaning "curse" has been laid bare.

Now when Hebrew was a spoken language there was no difficulty in distinguishing between the letters 'ayin and ghayin: here we are concerned with the former, not the latter as in the commonly accepted meaning of זעם. Invoking the law of metathesis we find in Arabic the root عزم[5] which means "to cast spells upon", "to

[1] Cf. R. Campbell Thompson *passim*, and *Maqlu*, i, 20, Kišpuša ruḫuša rusûša, "Her sorcery, her spittle, her witchcraft."

[2] Notably Jer. xv, 10; Ps. lxxx, 7; Pr. xvii, 14; Hab. i, 3; Pr. xxvi, 21; vi, 14; vi, 19.

[3] *BDB.*, 276*b*. Add also Prov. xxii, 14.

[4] As we should expect (*vide P.* and *D.*, *passim*) the root meaning of קבב is to *cut*.

[5] Cf. זעף "enraged"; Aram. זעפא "storm"; Arab. عزف "murmur of an approaching storm", where the position of ז and ע interchange.

bewitch ", " to lay under a curse ", the noun of the agent being عزّام and مُعَزِّم.[1] It is worth noticing that Bar Hebraeus in explaining ܡܥܙܡܢܐ (= חֹבֵר in Ps. lviii, 5) equates it with ܐܫܘܦܐ (= Bab. *âšipu*), معزم, and عَرّاف : other Syriac lexicologists agree with him.

So far as this word is concerned little has been added to the exegesis of the O.T. It must always have been obvious that זעם in these contexts meant cursing, even though the lexicons were not too scrupulous in pointing the way to the student.[2] But Prov. xxv, 23, which stands thus in the R.V., is in another category :—

The north wind bringeth forth rain :
So doth a backbiting tongue an angry countenance.

What exactly does the phrase פנים נזעמים mean ? The Greek and Latin versions make " face " the subject of the second half of the verse, the former rendering the epithet by ἀναιδεῖς[3] and the latter by *tristis*, neither of them being content with the accepted meaning " angry ". Hence we may infer that they rejected any connection with the root זעם = زغم. It is probable that the lesser known verb was written by the author of Proverbs and that he intended to indicate that the secret spells of the evil man produced their visible effects in the faces of those whom he had cursed as inevitably as rain was brought by the wind. Thus we may render :—

The north wind bringeth forth rain
So doth a secret tongue a face bewitched

If this be so the thought is in line with the views of Old Testament writers on the objective effect of cursing.[4]

Finally let us examine a psalm[5] which bears all the marks of a prayer for divine deliverance from the attacks of sorcerers. A revised translation will bring out the meaning :—

2. Hear my voice O God in my complaint :
Preserve my life from the terror of the enemy.

[1] The curious may like to consult the 13th ch. of al-Jaubarî's *K. al-Mukhtâr fî kashf al-asrâr*, Cairo, c. 1918, which deals with the *mu'azzimûn* who practise the black art and claim to have converse with the world of spirits. In modern Egypt the *mu'azzim* can still terrorize the credulous by his spells and curses.

[2] Ibn Janâh, *Kitabu'l-Uṣûl*, 200, deserves credit for his note.

[3] It is just possible that the LXX read עזים, cf. Is. lvii, 11. The Targ., however, supports R.V. אפי בנכתא.

[4] Possibly Hos. vii, 16, should be added to this category ; but the verse is corrupt as it stands, and it is not worth while resorting to conjecture.

[5] lxiv.

3. Hide me from the baneful words of evil doers:
   From the cursing of sorcerers.
4. Who have sharpened their tongue like a sword
   (who) have aimed their bitter word as an arrow.
5. That they may shoot in secret places at the perfect:
   Suddenly do they shoot at him and fear not.
6. They make powerful for themselves an evil word:
   They declare that they will hide traps.
   They say who will see them?
7. They bewitch [reciting evil (words)] with skilful witchcraft:
   And the inward part of everyone is a "deceitful" heart.
8. May God shoot at them with an arrow:
   Sudden be their wounds.
9. And may the mischief of their tongue make them stumble.
   Let all that see them wag the head.
10. And let all men fear
    And tell of the work of God
    And understand his doing.
11. Let the righteous be glad in the Lord and take refuge in Him:
    And let all the upright of heart glory.

Commentary

v. 3 contains two words that deserve notice: רגשה and its parallel סוד generally rendered "throng" and "counsel" respectively. These renderings *may* be right but they hardly seem to do justice to the context or to give a good sense. If mere slander and abuse are in question it seems unnatural that the psalmist should ask God to *hide* him from the counsel and from the throng of evil doers [1] when in the next verse he complains that they shoot in *hiding places* against the good man. One would expect that he would wish to know their evil schemes rather than to be put in a place where he could know nothing of what was being planned. But if the context is one of potent malediction the words can be explained in such a way as to remove these difficulties. The Arabic رجس "malediction" or "execration" puts us on the right track. This word is vouched for Ibnu'l-Athīr, the author of the celebrated Lexicon of the Hadith literature.[2] סוד here is probably to be compared with سواد "secret converse with evil intent" (cf. ساود to act or speak deceitfully, to try to get the better of someone).

[1] On פעלי און v.i.
[2] Unhappily he does not quote an example of its use.

To be *hidden* from the sorcerer was to be "out of range" of hi missile.[1]

v. 4. The "bitter word" which they use with deadly effect i the word of power. It inspires the psalmist with a terror which onl God can dissipate. It is shot forth secretly and finds its mark in th victim's person. The comparison of the effect of the sorcerer curse with arrows and sword thrusts is common in Arabic literature.

v. 6. The same "word" is here referred to and exactly corre sponds to *amātu limuttim*, the evil word of power of the Assyria countermagical texts. Traps were part of the stock-in-trade of th Accadian and Hebrew sorcerers[2]: they had the effect of paralysin the sorcerer's victim.

v. 7 presents metrical difficulties, and it is hard to believe tha the text is sound. Either the verse is overloaded or a word missing. On the whole the former view is more probable. It woul seem either that (*a*) the poet intended to say, "They bewitch with skilful incantation" חפשי חפש מחפש, in which case עולות תמנו (the ת having come in by dittography) is an explanatory gloss; (*b*) some word has fallen out before or after עולות. However the text as it stands is to be accepted it may offer a play on th word חפש, using it last in its ordinary sense of searching out scheming, and first in the sense of witchcraft. For the latter w may compare the Babylonian *epišu ipušanni ipšu ipušanni epusu* "the sorcerer who has bewitched me: with the sorcery with whic he has bewitched me bewitch thou him!"[4] The phrase עולות תמנו hardly admits of a satisfactory translation. If we delete the ת of תמנו as has been suggested we can render: "they recite ev words," and regard the intrusive phrase as an explanatory glos on יחפשו for *tamannu* is common used in Accadian of reciting a incantation.[6] Unless עמק is also to be understood in the Accadia sense of "wise" or "powerful" it seems better to read עקב.

v. 8. In rendering the verbs that follow as optatives the pointin with "weak waw" is presupposed, and so the psalm ends like it

[1] See Wheeler Robinson, *Old Testament Essays*, 5.
[2] See *P. and D.*, 282 *et passim*.
[3] Cf. *Maqlū*, ii, 162, 164.
[4] *Maqlū*, i, 128.
[5] Rendered tentatively "We have perfected?" (say they) . . . by S. R. Drive in *Parallel Psalter*. The variant תמנו offered by some MSS. is an obvious attemp to get rid of the difficulty.
[6] Cf. R. Campbell Thompson, *C.T.*, 23, 34.

counterparts in Accadian countermagical psalms with a prayer for divine action against the sorcerers.[1]

Before drawing this study to an end it will be well to quote Tallqvist,[2] the first to edit the Assyrian magical texts with a commentary and vocabulary, and then to leave readers to think of verses and half verses of our psalms which they suggest: "in the heart of the witch the word that brings calamity is devised; destruction is upon her tongue; poison flows from her lips; death springs up at her footsteps. . . . She is by nature so equipped that she is superior to ordinary men: her eyes range eagerly and keenly, her feet go fast; her knees stride forward; her hands are quick to grasp. Thus she can rapidly carry off her prey. Standing at chosen spots she throws her net over the streets and snares the feet of the passer-by, throwing him headlong." Here surely is the explanation of הכשיל and מוקשים, etc., as we find them in the psalms. They are not mere figures of speech, but describe the paralysing effect of the sorcerer's magic. Again, the fever, anxiety, palpitation, weeping, and wailing, the bad dreams, and spectres from which the victims suffer day and night are such misfortunes as the psalmists attributed to the פעלי און and others. Assyrian sorcerers employ the evil eye, the evil tongue, and the evil mouth, but the weapon most often referred to in *Maqlû* is the evil word of power which underlies the magical formula and the curse.

We have become accustomed to recognize a ritual pattern in ancient society, the heritage of the world of magic, which by imitating the rise and fall of vegetation, procreation, fertilization, and so on sought to secure the co-operation of the gods throughout the countries of the Near East. Israel retained but purged and purified these rites and ceremonies so that only their wraith remains, but even so the pattern can be recognized. It would be astonishing if no trace of that fear of sorcery and witchcraft which bore down the health and spirits of all their neighbours were to be found in the literature of the Hebrews. It would be equally astonishing if it had not undergone that purification which all practices surviving from their heathen past and all intrusive factors from contemporary heathenism underwent before they could be accepted in the canonical record.

[1] In v. 9 I have adopted the emendation suggested by Gunkel ויכשילמו עמל לשונם.

[2] p. 15 and cf. *Maqlû*, iii, 89 ff.

There are similarities in language and thought[1]; similar figures are feared for the same reasons; but yet there is a vast gulf between the Assyrian and the Hebrew attitude to sorcerers if we may put forward *Maqlû* and *Tehillim* as the champions of their respective peoples. The difference may be summed up in a word. The Assyrian work is countermagical: the Hebrew book is antimagical. The Assyrian for the most part prayed that his god or his incantation would overcome and destroy the spell that his enemy had put upon him; and he went through various ritual acts such as washing, sprinkling, waving certain shrubs or plants, making wax images of his enemies, and so on[2]; the Hebrew prayed to God that he would confound his enemies' devices. Greatly as he himself feared them (and the terror of the unseen enemy can be plainly felt in his prayers) he is content to leave his vindication to God, and this in an age when the black art reigned everywhere and could be overcome only by those who could afford to pay the heavy fees demanded by a rival practitioner or specialist.

It now remains to sum up the results of our investigation of the language of cursing in the Old Testament and to relate them to the thesis of Mowinckel.

(1) הַוֹּת can only be satisfactorily explained on the theory that the meaning is a curse of magical origin. The cognate word in Accadian has been identified in a context which explains both this noun and also a hitherto unrecognized verb in Hebrew. Further, Jewish tradition in Midrash and Pesh. supports this interpretation. Though unaware of any philological justification Mowinckel rightly proposed *Schadenworte* as the meaning of הוות.

(2) כסא(כסה) to utter spells, besides being the only possible explanation of Ps. xciv, 20, offers a better parallelism in Prov. x, 6, and is guaranteed by Ezek. xiii, 18 and 20, one of the few passages in the Old Testament which describe the acts of sorceresses in any detail. The root-meaning is borne out by Accadian.

(3) הצמיד receives a satisfactory interpretation in the place of the forced interpretation hitherto assigned to it.

(4) רמה and its cognate forms can be explained from Arabic and then gives a satisfactory rendering of Pr. xiv, 25.

[1] Cf. *Maqlû*, i, 14, *dînî dînâ alaktī limdā*, "Judge my cause, take knowledge of my way of life."
[2] "May the witch's sorcery not come nigh me: may it disappear with the washing of my hands in pure water."

(5) תודות can be referred to an Arabic word that signifies a strong curse and רצח its neighbour at once falls into place.

(6) עיר in Jer. xv, 9, and Hos. xi, 9, means a curse as in Arabic, and there is no need to question the propriety of the word.

(7) זעם in three passages is satisfactorily accounted for.

(8) Pr. vi, 12–19, is shown to be a skilful essay in synonymous rather than synthetic parallelism and explains the acts and effects of sorcerers.

(9) יָפִיחַ shown to be a noun describing one of the acts of sorcerers.

(10) מדון and ריב are probably to be associated with cursing.

(11) הרעיב has nothing to do with hunger, but refers to incantations.

(12) חבש probably means to bewitch, and is possibly a loanword from Accadian.

Mowinckel's etymological explanation of אָוֶן is that from its accepted meaning "strength" it acquired the special meaning of *mana*. אוֹן meant legitimate strength while the enlarged segholate formation אָוֶן meant an evil kind of power. Further, the word stands for the result of sorcery and can express a moral and religious judgment. Its results are to be seen in the synonyms which accompany its use: רעה, עמל, דם, שוד, מרמה. תך. חמס. עתק. Belonging as it does to a contra-Yahwistic region of thought it stands for sin, and its synonyms are רעה and עולה, and so it became a general term. Finally it must remain an open question how far the original meaning of the word held good for an individual writer or thinker in later times.

Such was the philological foundation of Mowinckel's thesis, and the criticism of his theory in this country has tended to concentrate on the obvious weakness of a word unsupported by any cognate language. Nevertheless this was but a fragment of his argument, and he went on to explain the function and character of the *Aunmann*. He was a murderer, a despoiler of the widow and orphan and a bringer of sickness. He explained Num. xxiii, 21, and 23 as parallels, the absence of און and עמל corresponding to the lack נחש and קסם in Israel.

The man of און works in darkness and in secret. When he wants to kill he lays hold of certain words as a warrior whets his sword or as the hunter lays traps and digs pits, and with the same effect.

"Aun is something that streams forth from the lips of the reshaʿim as effective words of power stream forth from the mouths of the prophets." Ps. xli, 9, he renders: "Etwas heilloses ist ihm angegossen," i.e. a materialized word of power has entered his body. The *Aunmann* does not take God as his source of strength because he has another, namely his tongue.

Such is a rapid sketch of Mowinckel's evidence.[1] Finally he asks: If we were to inquire of anyone living in the same cultural environment as the ancient Israelites, who were the people who (*a*) bring destruction on innocent and defenceless men; (*b*) kill them; (*c*) rob them; (*d*) cause sickness; (*e*) practise their arts in darkness; (*f*) work with the tongue and words of power; (*g*) employ strange gestures; and (*h*) possess a special power which other men have not, would not the answer, whether it came from Babylonians or Greenlanders, be that they were sorcerers? It is difficult to see how this question could receive any other answer.

[1] Much has been omitted, particularly arguments which do not seem to me to be cogent.

29th January, 1941.

A Lecture on the Sculpture of Indochina, Siam, and Java

By DORA GORDINE (Hon. Mrs. RICHARD HARE)

(PLATES V-IX)

THE Director (Sir Richard Winstedt) introduced this sculptor to a large audience of members of this Society and of the Royal Central Asian Society in the following words: "Those who have seen Dora Gordine's sculpture in London or Paris, at the Tate Gallery or at London University, in Achimoto or Singapore, will know that they are to listen to a real artist. She is not one of those acrobats of art, who tickle a public too amused by novelty to appraise the antics of artists as Dr. Johnson appraised the antics of a dog walking on his hind-legs: 'it is not well done, but one is surprised to find it done at all.' Eccentricities in modern art are the now belated relics of revolt from realistic representation. Greek reason, fascinated at discovering itself, came to ignore other faculties of the human spirit, and left the world the doubtful legacy of a specious realism. It substituted for the emotional interpretation of the individual sculptor a cold art of formal rules and ideal types. To-day, too, in spite of the modern reaction against the tyranny of reason even the surrealist thinks too much and sees and feels too little. 'You are an artist,' Tchekov wrote to Gorki, 'you can feel superbly. You are plastic, that is, when you describe a thing, you see and touch it with your hands. That is real art.' Dora Gordine's mind, like that of every genuine artist, is, in Tchekov's phrase, plastic, so that she is acutely aware of the perfection of modulated planes in Maillol's best work, of the tense vitality beneath the apparent simplicity of an archaic Greek κόρη, and of the vibrant rhythm of Hindu masterpieces. Feeling superbly, she can interpret sensations that admit of no equivocation.

"'What is a work of art,' inquired Virginia Woolf, 'when it has rid itself of the companionship of words and music? Let us ask the critics. But the critics are still talking with their fingers. They are still bristling and shivering like dogs in dark lanes when something passes that we do not see.' Sense perception, the ultimate criterion of art values, may evade definition but we have all suffered from critics who talk with their fingers because they have nothing

to say. Here I introduce you to an artist and a critic who has something to say and knows how to say it."

Dora Gordine then delivered her lecture, illustrated by lantern slides :—

"The Indianization of East Asia was a more far-reaching event in the history of culture than the Hellenization of Asia Minor. In the early centuries of the Christian era Indian culture swept like a great fertilizing stream, forming the unity of inspiration out of which arose the great sculpture of Java, Indo-China, and Siam. Certain vital fundamental qualities of sculpture are timeless, but being conditioned by the historical setting that gave them birth can only be discussed in so far as they are embodied in the actual form of individual works. Sculpture, like other forms of art, need not progress towards perfection : it is sometimes nearer perfection at the beginning than in the middle of a period. Compare the maturity of the best Borobudur reliefs with the naïve decoration of the later carvings in East Java or compare beautiful archaic Greek statuary with the later conventional style of the Elgin marbles. Broadly there are three periods in the sculpture of Java, Indo-China, and Siam. In the first, Indian prototypes prevail : for example, the pre-Khmer sculpture of Founan is hardly distinguishable in feeling from the Gupta sculpture of the Western Indian cave-temples. Then comes a period of national synthesis, when striking local characteristics develop on the Indian foundation. The third period, both in Cambodia and Java, is akin to folk-art, becoming increasingly remote from India.

There is in the Indian Museum, London, a superb torso from Sanchi (*JRAS.*, 1941, pl. VI), of high finish and sensitive and restrained modelling. In it the main decoration contrasts with the movement of the body, making it seem stronger and more curved. Compare it with the magnificent bronze torso of a Boddhisatva from Siam of about the ninth century. This, too, is completely Indian, but beside the Sanchi torso slightly provincial. The head, well set on the shoulders, is powerful in expression but slightly heavy. The decoration follows and repeats the natural and graceful curve of the body, nor does the finely modelled jewellery impair the sensitive planes. A very fine bronze Buddha head from Chieng Mai of the thirteenth to fourteenth century (*Ars Asiatica*, xii, pl. 32) is also of Indian type, though its aristocratic stiffness and elegant stylization are Siamese. This monumental head is

from a tall statue and intended to be seen from below. The chin compared with the forehead is long. The high lights bring out the disdainful expression of the sensuous mouth and nostrils. The ears are treated decoratively like the handles of a vase.

Turning from Siam to Cambodia. The large architectural head of a Khmer Asura (ib., pl. 22) finds a solid unity of construction in powerful jaws and a square straight forehead. And a characteristic Khmer Boddhisatva, also of the twelfth century (Pl. V and *The Civilizations of the East, India*, R. Grousset, London, 1932, fig. 139; Roger Fry, *Last Lectures*, fig. 283) is not only architectural in construction but finely modelled and possessed of every sculptural quality. The mysterious smile is inherent in every part of the face. From the profile one does not expect the astonishingly broad mouth which the artist must have chosen to emphasize the smile.

A popular piece from Angkor Wat is a bas-relief of Apsaras (Grousset, figs. 158, 159; *Mémoires Archéologiques publiés par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome ii, Le Temple d'Angkor Vat, pl. 262, Paris, 1930), who remind me of decorations on a cake. The artist was more interested in restless fussy decoration than in the stereotyped faces or the flat board-like bodies without any modelling. An extreme contrast is a tenth century torso of the goddess Uma (Pl. VI*a*), whose ripe form and dignified carriage need no extraneous decoration. The plain heavy drapery accentuates the softness and warmth of the sublime body. The curve of the waist is so delicate one can hardly follow the transitions. The navel, so difficult to express in stone, is deep but saved from hardness by the lightness of the shadows. The vigorous delicately modelled breasts balance the volume of the robust hips. An equally superb eighth century Cambodian torso in the Stoclet collection at Brussels (Pl. VI*b* and Roger Fry, *Last Lectures*, fig. 278) is full of vitality, combining vigorous movement with a static and serene poise. The light clinging drapery reveals a torso modelled delicately with ascetic restraint. The whole body is stretched by the lifted arm without being overstrained. The volume of the head is in perfect harmony with the strong rounded shoulders. The artist has reached the utmost limit of plastic expression. Not only is the perfectly modelled head full of character but it smiles and, if you continue to look, appears to laugh with a benevolent healthy laughter full of amusement. Even the neck laughs.

Compare the perfectly modelled face and body twisted in dynamic

movement of an Indian female figure at Khajuraho (*JRAS.*, Jan., 1941, pl. IV) with the almost boneless figure of a seventh century Cham dancer (*Ars Asiatica*, iv, pl. 21; Grousset, fig. 164). It is astonishing technique that can lend such flexibility to stone. Like Indian figures, this is adorned with massive jewellery that enhances the soft curves, but it is less finely modelled than the figure (c. A.D. 1000) from Khajuraho.

A Khmer Prajnaparamita of the tenth to twelve century (*Ars Asiatica*, xvi, pl. 15) is weak and unbalanced. The face is crude, the head sunk into the stiff shapeless body, the legs are knee-less and sausage-like, the multiple arms are seen as a black cavity, and their weight is unsupported by the lowest pair. But a contemporary kneeling figure with lifted arms from Bayon (ib., pl. 41) exhibits perfect balance between arms and legs. The arms and head with their wide interspace form a solid block that balances the volume of the legs and their interspace. The upper and lower portions are joined by a narrow waist as by a bridge. A four-armed Angkor bronze of twelfth to thirteenth century (ib., p. 17) might have been very good, were it not lacking in unity. Head, body, and legs have a vigorous static quality like a column, but find no counterpart in the small weak irresolute arms. In the attractive torso of a girl at Bantei Srey (ib., pl. 30) the square composition of the breasts matches the shape of the face—with its naïve spontaneous smile.

A strong solid pre-Khmer Buddha of the sixth century (ib., pl. 3) is a little heavy especially in the jaw. The features show Hellenistic influence and the fleshy curved mouth reminds of many Roman heads, but its expression has a rich sensuousness typical of the best Indian work. With its realism contrast the seventh century supremely simple head of an Indo-Javanese prince as a Buddhist monk (Pl. VII). This reserved and ascetic head, so detached in form and expression, is also strong in construction, but the features fit into the composition and nothing sticks out. Every superfluous detail is omitted. It is one of the most abstract and beautiful heads I know.

Bas-reliefs from Borobudur, illustrated in Mr. Havell's books on Indian art, in M. Foucher's books on Buddhist art, in Grousset (figs. 118–121), and in many Dutch works, reveal a plastic feeling unlike the restless decoration of Angkor Vat. Here temples, trees, flowers, and bodies are treated sculpturally. Single leaves and

branches are neglected and a tree is carved as the round mass it appears from a distance. The roundness of trunks and the definite shape of tree-tops match so well the round human bodies. How effective standing and seated figures look beneath these stylized trees.

Two Buddha heads from Borobudur (*Indian Sculpture and Painting*, E. B. Havell, London, 1908, pl. 42; *A Handbook of Indian Art*, E. B. Havell, London, 1920, pl. 58A) show how conventional decorative sculpture is at times, until one can hardly distinguish one head from another. The forms are insensitive and not worked out either in expression or modelling.

A shapeless sickly figure from fourteenth century Majapahit (*Ars Asiatica*, viii, pl. 32) has a head huge in comparison with its undeveloped childish body and thin angular ugly limbs. In this dry unpleasant piece the shortness of the thighs is to be noted. How different from splendid female figures on Borobudur, that are among the finest examples of Javanese sculpture. Pl. VIII*a* shows a figure full of peace and stability. There is a powerful sculptural quality in the lotus flower. The undulation of the lotus stem is repeated in the slight curve of the figure. The lotus bud has the same full rich ripeness of form as the head of the statue and the same air of melting languor. Though the stone is weather-worn, the movement and general construction stand out as strongly as ever. Head and face retain nearly all the original delicacy of modelling and suggest the former texture of the whole. Another female figure from Borobudur (Pl. VIII*b*) is more dynamic in movement, yet static enough to fit architecturally in a square niche. The round curve of the left hip is perfectly balanced by the upward movement of the plump right arm. The right thigh and the left upper arm are straight and relaxed, which still further emphasizes the carriage of the body. How one feels through the drapery the sensitive modelling of the legs. The head leans on the left shoulder with an effective sense of weight. This figure is alive and seductive, yet marked by a peculiarly feminine dignity and reserve.

A thirteenth century Prajnaparamita from Singasari (Grousset, fig. 127; *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, E. B. Havell, pl. 14) is a popular but atrocious piece. The texture is sickly and polished, as if the life had been erased; the surface having a monotonous soft consistency like soap or butter rather than stone. The short legs have no organic relation with the long rigid lifeless trunk.

This stereotyped reproduction of what was once an ideal of beauty is a good example of art technically conscientious but without one atom of inspiration.

I will next compare three Javanese heads (Pl. IX, *Ars Asiatica*, viii, pls. 15, 33; *Oudheidkundige Verslag Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1937, pl. 1). The first is a monumental head of Shiva. The ascetic modelling of the cheeks brings out the curved fullness of the mouth and the large protruding almond eyes with their heavy eyelids. The ornate headdress accentuates the massive simplicity of the face. At first sight too heavy at the back, the headdress does in fact balance architecturally the forward thrust of the face. The second, a diademed head, though it is only 35 cm. high, looks gigantic. This shows with what simplicity and generous feeling it has been carved, with all realistic details omitted. Even the decoration on the diadem is treated very softly without deep indentations, so that the shadows are light and the unity is not broken up. Twice as long as the face, the diadem does not crush the contemplative head with its weight. It is astonishing how in so little space such intentness of expression can be concentrated without elaboration. The third head is of the tenth century and from Jokyakarta, and in conception is the most harmonious of the trio. The size and shape of the diadem are most skilfully worked out in proportion to the face, even its top corresponding with the curve of the chin. Attention to architectural qualities has not led to neglect of the deeply thoughtful face. It is strange to see on this delicate and reserved face such a strongly pronounced voluptuous lower lip, but this is characteristic of Javanese sculpture.

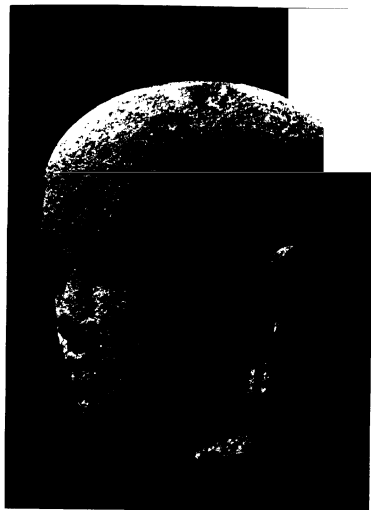
Finally I would ask you to compare a Javanese Boddhisatva of the tenth century (Grousset, fig. 103; Havell's *Handbook*, pl. 57B) with a river-goddess from Ellora (*JRAS.*, 1941, Pl. VII). The former is perfect in theory. The distance between the two arms and the columnar frame is the same on both sides. The head is in the centre. The space left by the slant of the right leg is cleverly filled by a flower-vase. The architectural setting is effective. But the piece is stiff, dry, and lifeless, and the head a conventional mask with modelling entirely insensitive. Turn to the Ellora goddess. Nowhere in this vital composition is there a dead spot. It is not only an intellectual concept but composed with feeling and love. The natural rhythm of the jubilant body is brought out by the curves of the surrounding decoration. Here is no mere pose or

artificially correct assemblage of details. And only when mastery of sculptural qualities is so complete as here, does a work breathe radiant vibrating life.

The finest sculpture of every region and period that was inspired from India possesses the same basic qualities. All the works are strongly conceived, sensitively modelled, and combine an architectural sense of proportion with weight and dignity. Their serenity is not cold indifference but the expression of an intense inward life. Without such depth of feeling sculpture, however skilful, is dead. One feels that this art rose to greatness because it was not a closed preserve for a few connoisseurs but rooted in the wants of the people, a part of the daily life of every temple-goer and every person, high and low, who found in it inspiration, joy, relaxation, and peace."

Thanking the lecturer for showing with concrete examples the difference between good and bad sculpture, the Director remarked that so long as British sculptors turned for inspiration not to life but to mawkish third-rate poetry, to Anglo-Saxon puerilities as outmoded as *Piers Plowman*, and to second-hand properties from Wardour Street, it was to the credit of British taste that it remained quite indifferent to their work. He instanced pitiful modern statuary in London parks and in Portland Place.

BUDDHIST HEAD
11–12th Century Khmer Art

To face p. 138.

(c)

(b)

(a)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

A STUDY OF CHINESE PAINTINGS IN THE COLLECTION OF ADA SMALL MOORE. By LOUISE WALLACE HACKNEY and YAU CHANG-FOO. 15 × 12, pp. xvi + 279, pls. 64. Oxford University Press, 1940. £8 8s.

Mrs. Moore's collection here catalogued comprises fifty-four more important items and twenty-one "of less artistic merit". Most of those in the first group are reproduced, some in colour. The second group is relegated to a "supplementary" list without reproduction. The authors' own observations are brief, since they have preferred to translate the copious appreciations by Chinese connoisseurs appended to many of the scrolls, and let them speak as to the merits of the paintings. A novel feature is the careful study of seals imprinted by these critics and others. Welcome biographical notes are added; but a chronological list of dynasties, which would have been useful to the general reader, is lacking. Sceptics who hold that extant movable paintings dating from the Sung and earlier (excluding the Tun-huang finds) might be counted on the fingers of one's hands will find here a contradiction to their views. No fewer than thirty-two are assigned to the Sung, and there are even four T'ang items and one which is dated at least as far back as the fourth century. The production of the book is superb.

B. 723.

BRITISH RULE IN ASIA. A study of contemporary government and economic development in British Malaya and Hong Kong. By LENNOX A. MILLS. 9 × 5½. pp. viii + 581, maps 3. Oxford University Press, 1942.

This book has been issued under the auspices of the secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations International Research Series, and was printed before 7th December, 1941, when Japan entered the war. Never before perhaps have so many official reports and blue-books been condensed between two covers. The author is infinitely painstaking, meticulously accurate, almost invariably sound. His book will be a standard work of reference, but few will have patience

to struggle through its jungle of figures and facts. Even those who have known Malaya and Hong Kong well will hardly be able to see the wood for the trees. And the book lacks the background and perspective of Mr. Furnivall's really great work on *Netherlands India*. The maps are amateurish.

B. 713. R. O. WINSTEDT.

FOOTPRINTS IN MALAYA. By SIR FRANK SWETTENHAM, G.C.M.G., C.H. 8½ × 5½, pp. 176, pls. 35. London: Hutchinson and Co., 1942. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This is the story of an interesting career and not, as the blurb on the wrapper claims, a picture of Malaya's "inner history". In fact, to those few who have studied the sources for that history during the last seventy years, the book will illustrate the truth of the view that the history of a period cannot be written in perspective by those that make it. No one will turn to these pages, for example, for a full and unbiased account of the circumstances of the Pangkor treaty that led to our first protection of a Malay State, Perak,—though even from the Malay standpoint the end came to justify the means. At the time the deference paid to Abdullah and the neglect of the just claims of Sultan Ismail and of the Mantri of Larut appear to have been partly due to ignorance—though that ignorance was convenient. Sir Frank, as a very junior officer, naturally accepted the views and policy of his seniors without having the means then to scrutinize them, nor has he troubled since to study the abundant evidence available in official reports and other documents and publications. His comments on changes since he helped to build Malaya by federation are also perfunctory and fail to meet or even mention the basic arguments for decentralization, a measure many of us distrust and would be prepared to criticize on definite issues. His remark at the end of chapter 15 that the Malay rulers of the Federated States are not familiar with English (when one of them is a barrister and all of them now speak our language) illustrates the strange omission in an alert brain to have accumulated accurate information about Malaya after its own day. This book is therefore a period piece, devoted to the era of Malaya's development, an era that was succeeded by a period marked by the progress of those social services which Raffles adumbrated for the Oriental and

Lord Hailey has recently advocated for the whole Colonial Empire. Being a period piece, it contains in chapter 7 an inadequate pastiche from writing done by the author years ago, before the era of modern research. On the administrative side, Sir Frank is never tired of stressing the propriety of co-operation with the Malay, but is one wrong in feeling that his attitude is rather that of the squire towards old retainers ? The modern Malay is leaving feudalism behind him. One valuable point Sir Frank does make (p. 101): The system of indirect rule, the discovery of which African administrators are prone to claim, was certainly anticipated in Malaya, nor was its survival there due, as often in Africa, to meagre revenues or, as sometimes in Africa, detrimental to the peasant left at the mercy of untrained and uneducated chiefs. It is strange to reflect with Sir Frank that had the British continued their refusal to intervene in the Malay States, the Peninsula might have fallen under Siam, a country whose hard-working peasants after this war should themselves welcome the benefit of European or American tutelage.

This autobiography like the reminiscences of a previous Governor of the Straits Settlements, Cavenagh, and of a former Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, Anson, will be of value to future writers on Malaya. And Sir Frank can confidently reckon on his place among its ablest administrators. It is a pity that fate seems hardly to have brought him into contact with Sir William Maxwell, the best Malayan scholar of the period and creator of the admirable land system of the Malay States. It is strange, too, to find no mention of Mr. H. N. Ridley, C.M.G., F.R.S., who played so large a part in the development of the rubber industry. Perhaps printer's troubles due to the war have led to the many mis-spellings : *dia Udin* (pp. 20, 96) = *Dzia'u'd-din*, *Hamida* (p. 40) = *Hamidah*, *Berman* (p. 44) = *Bernam*, *Sri* (p. 89) = *Sri*, *sefak* (p. 49) = *sepak*, *Challoner* (p. 149) = *Chancellor*, while the whole point of a story about Swinburne (p. 68) is spoilt by the same accent on two *Callipyges*. *Batek* (p. 118) is a Javanese word meaning "painted" and there is no district of that name.

B. 729. R. O. WINSTEDT.

Middle East

Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindūstān. By Shams u'l 'Ulamā al-Ḥāj Muḥammad 'Abd u'l Ghanī. pp. xliii + 505. Allāhābād: The Allāhābād Law Journal Press, 1941.

Mr. Abd al-Ghani, a former pupil of E. G. Browne, has already enriched our knowledge of the Persian literature of India with his voluminous *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*. He has now written another large volume covering the period from the emergence of modern Persian as a literary language down to the end of the Slave dynasty. Such an undertaking is bound to involve a good deal of overlapping with already published material, but the author seems to have gone out of his way to discuss subjects, interesting enough of course, which have no real bearing on his special theme. It is remarkable how many even of the early Persian poets found their way to India. It is Mr. Abd al-Ghani's favourite theme that the Persian literature written in India was in no respect inferior to that produced at home. It is hardly fair to put into the witness box such poets as Mas'ūd-i Sa'd Salmān and Sanā'ī. Everyone will agree that Persians who went to the Indian courts were not debarred thereby from writing good literature. the real issue is whether those of the third and fourth generation born and bred in India and never returning to Persia produced anything to be put alongside the best models. The author writes admirable English, and the book contains many interesting extracts of Persian poetry.

B. 724 A. J. Arberry.

India

1. The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq. By Agha Mahdi Husain. pp. xvi + 274. Two maps and five plates (one of coins) Luzac and Co., London. 1938. 15*s*.

2. Masnavī Tughluqnāma. By Khusrū Dihlavī, edited by Sayyid Hashimi. pp. 93 + 151. Urdu Press, Aurangabad, 1933. Rs 4

3. Futūḥ-us-Salātīn By 'Iṣāmī, edited by A. Mahdi Husain. pp 5 + 583. Education Press, Agra, 1938. Rs. 3.

Fresh light is thrown on the contradictory features in the character of Muhammad bin Tughluq by these three works. The

Tughluqnama now printed for the first time in the series "Makhṭūṭāt Fārsiyā" at Hyderabad, Deccan, had been lost for centuries. Even in the time of Akbar copies seem to have been scarce, as a letter from Faizi to the ruler of Khandesh, a copy of which has been preserved in the papers of Sir Henry Elliot, asks for the complete text, as that in the royal library had lost some leaves. In Jahangir's reign a Persian poet named Haiyati Kashi was employed to complete it and the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri* quotes from it. Then it seems to disappear, till a copy was discovered in a book purchased at Lucknow by Dr. Habib Ahmad Shirwani, of Habibganj Aligarh, which may be the copy made for Haiyati Kashi. As poetry the work is inferior, but though it deals with only a short period it is valuable for the details it gives regarding the accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq and the beginning of Muhammad's reign. S. Hashimi, the editor, has prefixed an abstract in Urdu and a description of archaisms and Hindi expressions used by Amir Khusru.

The *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* is also a first edition, lithographed from a manuscript in the India Office, of which only one other copy is known. It has been edited by Dr. Mahdi Husain who promises an English translation with notes. Nothing is known of the author except what he relates at the beginning of the poem. He was employed by Muhammad bin Tughluq, but disgusted by his treatment took service with Ala-ud-din Hasan, Bahmani. The poem relates the history of rulers of India from Mahmud of Ghazni to Muhammad bin Tughluq and is a lively account which the editor describes as an Indian Shahnama.

In addition to using fully and with discrimination these two new sources Dr. Mahdi Hasan has re-examined the better known historians of the period and his work covers all aspects, political, administrative, and personal. The preliminary summary of the reasons why six lines of Sultans of Delhi rose and fell in three and a half centuries is good. The author's attempts to revise previous judgments are not always so successful, and after setting out to prove that Muhammad was not responsible for the death of his father, in a later part of the book the crime is practically admitted. The move from Delhi to Deogir is regarded as merely the setting up of an alternative capital owing to the growing political importance of Southern India, and the increase in taxation of land in the Doab is described as a war measure rather than a change of standard. Muhammad's anxiety for recognition by the Egyptian

Caliph is explained by his desire to refute the Indian theologians who had branded him as unorthodox.

The author's description of the very interesting changes made by Muhammad in currency is defective because he has not studied and made use of Nelson Wright's final conclusions in the book published while the thesis was being revised. The claim to have "discovered" the fragment of an autobiography of Muhammad in the British Museum is extraordinary as this document is adequately described in Rieu's catalogue.

Notwithstanding these criticisms the book is valuable. It is well and accurately printed and has a good index.

B. 719, 720, 721. R. BURN.

HUMĀYŪN BĀDSHĀH. By S. K. BANERJI. Vol. I, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. xvi + 284; Vol. II, Maxwell Co., Lucknow, 1941, pp. xvi + 441. 8½ × 5½. Rs. 8 each volume.

During the eighty years since Erskine's account of Babur and Humayun was published no full length history of the latter has been produced though new material has come to light, particularly in Gulbadan's Humayunnama and in the Arabic history of Gujarat by Abdullah Muhammad bin Omar. Dr. Banerji has made full use of these and other sources which were not before Erskine. The first volume ends with Humayun's flight to the Punjab after his defeat near Kanauj by Sher Shah who rapidly occupied Agra and Delhi.

In the second volume are narrated Humayun's adventures in Sind and Persia, his struggles with his brothers in Afghanistan, and his recovery of the throne of Delhi for a few months before his death. This narrative is supplemented by chapters describing Akbar's childhood, Babur's family, the prominent women of the time, an abstract of Humayun's acts of state and a discursive chapter on the literary men of the period, both Muslim and Hindu, with a good selection of verses in the original.

The result is a far more detailed narrative of events and description of characters than was possible for Erskine to produce. Many of the details are not essential for a broad survey of the period, but the book does not lose in value by including them.

Where Dr. Banerji differs from Erskine in his judgments he does not always convince, for example, in rejecting the views that

Humayun deserted his post in Badakhshan during Babur's lifetime, and that later he wasted months in Gaur through sloth and love of ease. His argument that Kamran's coinage shows he had no aims at encroaching on Humayun's sovereignty in India is based on a faulty description of the actual coins, and omits a reference to the unique dirham of Kabul which bears the names of both brothers and was probably struck in 955 during their temporary reconciliation.

A few diagrams are helpful to picture some of the campaigns, but a footnote at p. 29, Vol. I: "Any good map of India would indicate the places," suggests that maps have not always been consulted. Thus at p. 251 the unidentified river "Kanbir" is the Gambhir, and "Bajauna" which stood on its bank is probably Bayana. The identification of Jauhar's دوره with Dadra in the Bara Banki District is impossible having regard to Humayun's recorded march to the battlefield there. Jauhar mentions a river near it transliterated by Erskine as the Sini which must be the Sai and Daunrua fits the description better than any other place. At p. 223 Humayun is described as crossing the Ganges to the left bank before the battle of Chausa, instead of the Karamnasa, which is not mentioned here.

The index is well designed but not complete. In the second volume it is difficult to check the references to authorities as there is no alphabetical key to contractions used.

B. 722. R. BURN.

WAYFARER'S WORDS. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. 2 vols. pp. 719. Luzac and Co., 1940–1.

These essays now first appearing in book form are lectures or articles dating over a period of many years: some for specialists, some for mixed audiences. All are concerned with Buddhism, and intended to determine what it truly was, apart from later accretions. The essays are of varied interest, but space allows us only to isolate some single feature and leave readers to divine that more of the same value awaits them.

One such feature is the author's continuous effort to discover the significations borne by terms originally colloquial and subsequently endowed with stereotyped perversions; likewise to

discard the additional perversions accruing in English by mistranslation. Whatever controversialists may think of the author's interpretations, these volumes will bear witness to hindrances to appreciating the realities of the life metaphysical, when expressed in an alien vocabulary, dating from a forgotten age. All the alternatives which have been proposed only make it clearer that Europeans often run short of equivalents, and that to adopt inadequate alternatives as equivalents misinterprets the ideas involved. In commerce no such difficulty arises. We have never searched for equivalents for "tea" or "kaolin". We just adopt the foreign words. The insoluble puzzles to which Mrs. Rhys Davids calls attention will perhaps persuade posterity to naturalize Buddhist metaphysical terms, expounding their significations in glossaries, and patiently to await agreement on the part of the glossaries until we can adopt the results as terms of our own, thereby expanding the vocabulary of experts. We must hope, too—not too hopefully—that the glossaries, by means of trial and error, will ultimately succeed in enabling us to think accurately about both early and late Buddhism.

B. 702. E. S. BATES.

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN TEXTUAL CRITICISM. By S. M. KATRE with Appendix II by P. K. GODE. pp. xiii + 148. Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House, 1941. Rs. 3 as. 8.

This volume is primarily intended for Indian post-graduate students and other scholars, who wish to master the fundamentals of Indian textual criticism.

It is well printed on good paper and Dr. Katre deals thoroughly and competently with his important subject. It is hoped that this manual will induce Indian scholars to make critical editions of the many important texts, which still need that attention. A new critical text of the Jñāneśvarī, of which a MS. dated Śaka 1272 has been found (p. 87), would, for example, be of great interest to all Marathi scholars.

Slips and errors are few: p. 7, Ceaser read Caesar; p. 12, Pulumāi read Puḷumāyi; p. 13, Anahilvad read Aṇahilavāḍa or Aṇahillavāḍa according to contemporary documents, e.g. Mahavira caritra by Nemicandra Sūri, Pattan Cat. 285 and later, Vastupāla Tejapāla

Rāsa, Jain Sāhitya Saṃśodhak, Khaṇḍ 3, Ank 1, p. 112; p. 128, Scrifsit read scripsit.

The appendices are most useful and Mr. Gode's Catalogus Catalogorum in App. II must have entailed much careful toil.

B. 726. ALFRED MASTER.

A PILLARED HALL, from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. By W. NORMAN BROWN. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940.

A striking expression of enthusiasm for antiquities enjoyed by many Americans is presented by the reconstruction of the fore-court (*mandapam*) of an old Hindu temple, the subject of the present monograph. While certain details concerning the disposition of the assembled parts are not definitely proved, although the Author makes out a very convincing case, the general effect of the reconstruction must afford great pleasure to the average visitor to the fortunate Museum wherein it has been installed. The Curator of a popular museum as understood to-day must combine something of the showman with the more serious purpose of the scholar. It is therefore understandable that the "Pillared Hall" in the Philadelphia Museum of Art should have been erected in a manner to give the effect of completeness and integrity for popular enjoyment and that any little doubts of detail should be reserved for discussion and study.

The Author then, is justified in his expression of satisfaction in the achievement which owes almost everything to his own careful examination of the pieces and of the actual site from which they have been recovered, and one accepts with due salaams the triumphant fact that this "Pillared Hall" is the only stone temple "ensemble" in America and further that "no other museum anywhere can show such a large grouping of integrated architectural units from a single building in India". This gratifying statement is followed by a note on the faintly romantic manner in which the pieces came to the museum and on the celebration of their installation by a pageant called "The Building of the Temple". Although in the preface the Author claims that the pieces are from a single building, on page 30 this is contradicted.

An instructive, if somewhat discursive section follows in which is recounted the legend of the munificence of the god Krishna to his

daughter Pandaia, as recorded by Megasthenes and how one of his gifts was the territory called after her of which the capital was Madura. From this we come to historical matter connecting it up with the Cæsars, Asoka, then down to the Cholas, the emperors of Vijayanagar and in due course to the peace of the British Raj. The racial position is touched upon—Aryan versus Dravidian—which inevitably brings in the Indus Valley civilization and the recent researches at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Chanhu-daro. Here a footnote reminds us that remains of Indus Valley civilizations are owned outside India, only by the Boston Museum. Religion and commerce are reviewed and the chapter ends by justifying itself in the conclusion that the source of the pieces now constituting the Pillared Hall " is one of India's oldest and most important cities . . . where the civilization is characteristically Dravidian . . . The pieces illustrate a great period in the life of this city and illustrate that period through its religion, which is the focal point of Indian life."

Part II treats of architectural development in the South, ranging from rock-cut cave temples of the second century B.C. to the present age of architectural sterility. The illustrations to this section are not as helpful as they might be and the descriptions suggest a, perhaps, less penetrative understanding of the nature, growth, and potentialities of design than is desirable to the full understanding of the subject.

Part III shows the arrangement of the specimens as set up in the Museum and contains a detailed account of the Author's survey of the site from which they are said to have come, with his reasoned conclusions as to their original disposition. The whole of this account is interesting and shows the meticulous care taken to resolve doubtful points. He concludes that the pieces belonged to " two, possibly three, temples ". These pieces, from different buildings, have now " been set up to reproduce, as nearly as they make possible, such a pillared hall ".

In dealing with the sculptured features in Part IV, some of the statements are not above challenge: such as " The stylistic evolution of Indian sculpture starts with Asoka ". The paragraph on page 31 beginning, " In the south the involvements of medieval sculpture are predictable from the mural carvings at Badami . . . at Mamallipuram and still later . . . at Elura " needs elucidating; and the reference to " barbaric wildness of conception " cannot be

accepted, nor can the statement that "Naturalism does not exist, if it ever did in India except incidentally. Everything is reproduced from mental images, not from living models". This last quotation seems to me, from an artist's point of view, meaningless. In a foot-note to this statement he refers to Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch, neither of whom could, I think, have meant quite this. There follows detailed descriptions of all the sculptures on columns and friezes with much about iconography, legend, and theology, in which the Author reveals a wide range of reading and research.

The illustrations, printed in collotype, and therefore, as is usual with this process, clogged and wanting in the delicate gradations necessary in illustrating sculpture, would otherwise be good. But the deplorable adoption of the "bleeding off" habit spoils the pages. "Bleeding off" is the technical term for the placing of blocks right up to the edges of the page so that they convey the irritating impression that either the illustrations were not meant for the size of paper used or that the binder has failed to control the gauge on the guillotine and chopped off too much.

Typography and paper are excellent and the type face, beautiful. Except for the trifling objections mentioned, the Author and Publishers are to be congratulated on producing an attractive and extremely useful monograph and guide to the proper understanding of the Pillared Hall.

B. 712. F. H. ANDREWS.

AJMER, HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE. By Diwān Bahādur HAR BILĀS SARDA. 10 × 6½, pp. 456. Ajmer: Fine Art Printing Press, 1941.

This is a new and much enlarged and improved edition of a volume published in 1911, and it has an interesting "Foreword" by Principal Seshadri of the Ajmer Government College. The author is known throughout India for the honourable part taken by him in legislation for the restraint of child-marriage, but his chief qualification for the present book (apart from his literary and historical capabilities) may be said to rest in the fact that his whole life—a life full of local and official activity—has been spent in the area about which he writes. *Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes angulus ridet* and his work has been a labour of love, no mean tribute to no mean city.

It is on the general lines of an official gazetteer, but its style and enthusiasm place it in a class to which few gazetteers can aspire. It is especially strong in its treatment of the archaeology and history of Ajmer, both of which are set forth with affectionate detail. The references to sources, especially those from Indian writers, might perhaps be more numerous and this want is not entirely filled by the copious bibliography attached to the volume. Nor is the absence of an index entirely atoned for by a very detailed list of contents. But there is a tabulated chronology and lists of rulers, buildings, etc., which add to the usefulness of the book and speaking generally one could not have a better and more intimate guide to the history and antiquities of the picturesque city and district commemorated by this volume.

B. 692 E. D. MACLAGAN.

TEKHI'S HUNTING. By WINIFRED HOLMES. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. pp. 215. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1941.

A delightful story for children; near enough to reality to be instructive yet in the authentic line of juvenile romance. If ethnographical detail is occasionally intrusive, that is not a feature with which a learned society can quarrel. The villain is squint-eyed and meets a violent end, which is as the world should be.

B. 725. R. O. WINSTEDT.

THE FASHIONING OF LEVIATHAN: THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH RULE IN BURMA. By J. S. FURNIVALL. pp. 137. Burma Research Society.

This small volume, published by the Burma Research Society, is based almost entirely on two printed sources, namely *Correspondence Tenasserim Division*, 1825–1843 (1915), and *Selected Correspondence of Letters issued from and received in the Office of the Commissioner, Tenasserim Division* (1916).

The province of Tenasserim with which the author is here primarily concerned was taken over by the British in 1826 after the First Burmese War, and from that time until 1843 was successively administered by two Commissioners, Maingy and Blundell. Neither seems to have possessed more than ordinary abilities, and fortunately, in this small and thinly populated area where even the usually

thorny problem of land revenue administration proved comparatively easy of solution, they experienced far less trouble than their prototypes in Bengal and Madras. Relations with the Bengal Government, on the other hand, were difficult, and the author well describes their vain efforts to maintain a reasonable degree of initiative.

Short, clear accounts, such as this, of the origins and administration of the British Empire in the East are to be welcomed. The author is perhaps less than fair, at least to the *Cambridge History of India*, in commenting that, "No one seems to have examined in detail the internal developments of the British Empire in India."

B. 553. C. H. PHILIPS.

Miscellaneous

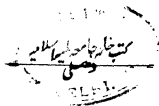
EAST AND WEST. By RENÉ GUÉNON, translated by WILLIAM MASSEY. 9 × 5½, pp. 257. London: Luzac and Co., 1941.

In a vein reminiscent of Cardinal Newman and Dean Inge but not as lively, M. René Guénon tilts at the vulgar ideas of progress. He demolishes the equally vulgar pretensions of modern science in a way that has long commended itself to such high priests of the subject as Sir James Jeans. He ridicules the popular fear of a Pan-Islamism that died with Sultan Abdul-Hamid of Turkey. One rubs one's eyes and wonders if one is back in the France before 1914. When one reads that the East, which propagated Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, regards proselytism as "a proof of ignorance and incomprehension", one wonders if the author heeds this world at all. And surely the analytical method is avenged for his contempt of it, when he lumps together as the Oriental mind the mind of Arab and Malay, Persian and Chinese, Afghan and Tamil, though even he boggles at including the Japanese. For him Europe's road to salvation is by return to the "traditional science of the Middle Ages", which explicitly is neither Occultism nor Catholicism and implicitly is a Hindu transcendentalism. But the constructive side of this book reveals a Gallic mind entering a quite Teutonic fog of vagueness and incomprehensibility. The translation seems excellent.

B. 665. R. O. WINSTEDT.

DIPLOMATIC PETREL. By Sir THOMAS HOHLER. pp. 246, ills. 12. London: John Murray, 1942. 15s.

The title is due to the fact that the author was known as the stormy petrel; there is plenty of liveliness in the book. The chapters on Mexico are outside the scope of this journal. The author was in Japan during the war with Russia so his comments have a topical interest, the more so that he had been previously stationed in Russia. In Abyssinia Sir Thomas was on good terms with King Menelek who was not above playing practical jokes on him. Menelek had a man stoned to death for adultery and argued that Sir Thomas was not a Christian because he did not approve of the punishment. Efforts to make punishments less barbarous were not successful. The ambassador acted as judge in many cases where Europeans were involved, this was a friendly arrangement with no legal force. If a man saw that a case was going against him he sometimes took it to the Abyssinian courts. Another friendly agreement was made, the chief justice asked what penalty the Ambassador's court would have inflicted, and doubled it. Menelek's suspicions lost him £10,000 a year from the Sudan government. The most binding oath was taken on a rifle or in the name of the king. Light relief is not wanting. On a desert journey a bath was wanted. To spare Muslim feelings about the naked body, a camel was used as a screen for the bather. It drank the bath water! A dispatch from Abyssinia called Menelek "the old man"; King Edward insisted that it should read "aged monarch". How many people could interpret "a big nugger made of great blocks of sunt" if it were taken out of its context? Dime, meaning tithe, is not English. The earlier pages of the book are rather dull; the reader should not be put off.

A. S. TRITTON.

OBITUARY NOTICE

ALEXANDER GEORGE ELLIS, M.A.

On the 17th March, one who had given a lifetime of service, valuable though unobtrusive, to the cause of Oriental studies, passed unnoticed from the scene at the ripe age of 84. Mr. A. G. Ellis was a familiar figure to more than one generation of members of this Society. He joined it as long ago as 1897, and from 1919 until his health began to fail some four years ago, filled the office of Honorary Librarian. He was the last in a direct family line of public servants, whose lives, incidentally, each approached or exceeded the span of ninety years. His great grandfather, a doctor of divinity, came to London from his native Yorkshire well back in the eighteenth century. His grandfather Sir Henry Ellis directed the British Museum from 1827 to 1856. His father Frederick Ellis served in the office of the Paymaster-General.

He himself passed from Merchant Taylors' School where he was solidly grounded in Hebrew as well as in the classics, to Queens' College, Cambridge, and there took a distinguished degree in Semitic Languages, having been privileged to sit at the feet of William Wright and other eminent Orientalists. Joining the staff of the British Museum in 1883, he spent the next twenty-six years chiefly in cataloguing Islamic literature, at first printed books and later both books and manuscripts, covering in this work an unusually wide field, for though he left Cambridge with a sound equipment in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, he soon extended his studies to include Persian, Turkish, and Armenian. He left the Museum in 1909 to take up the appointment of sub-librarian at the India Office where he served until his retirement at the prescribed age limit; but the Museum was once again to enjoy the benefit of his help, for in 1930, at the happy suggestion of Dr. Barnett, then Keeper of Oriental Books and Manuscripts, he returned to give part-time service in cataloguing the Armenian library, until declining health brought this activity as well as his work for the Society to a close.

In 1894 he published volume 1 of his *Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum*, the second volume appearing in 1901. This valuable work of reference is well known to Arabists and contains descriptions of nearly all the printed Arabic literature

acquired by the Museum during the nineteenth century. He was also part author of the *Supplementary Catalogue* published in 1926. For his first ten years at the Museum Mr. Ellis had as a senior colleague Dr. Charles Rieu, author of the monumental catalogues of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts, and after Dr. Rieu's retirement he became to a large extent responsible for dealing with the Islamic manuscripts acquired by the Museum as well as books. Part of his labours in this field was published in 1912 under the title, *A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts acquired . . . since 1894; compiled by A. G. Ellis and E. Edwards.* He was also part author of the Catalogue of this Society's Library which appeared last year.

The extreme care and comprehensiveness displayed in his Museum Catalogue of Arabic Books moved a French reviewer to describe the author as " un bibliographe parfait ". If he had met the author himself he would have had every reason to confirm this verdict, for Mr. Ellis's astonishing powers as a bibliographer had to be seen in action to be believed. His was the type of mind which could seize and hold myriads of facts and produce any of them as required. Not only the titles and authors but the structure and contents of Oriental books and manuscripts, as well as multitudes of historical and philological details, were packed in his memory as in a vast card-index, and with unfailing kindness and good nature he liberally gave of this store to all who asked. Though assuredly much was lost to Muhammadan studies by reason of his rooted objection to express himself in print, he made some amends by this vital assistance he so often gave to other scholars in the preparation of their works, and if the few publications above mentioned are all that bear his name, the wide and accurate knowledge which he so freely dispensed is built into the foundations of many more.

Talking and walking were his two recreations, and in both his stamina was remarkable. In his prime he would tramp vast distances across country without turning a hair, and it was only on the verge of eighty that he bowed with an ill grace to the necessity of limiting his Saturday afternoon walk to nine or ten miles. His favourite haunt was the Chilterns where he knew every farm, hamlet, hedge, and pathway with the same exactitude as the titles, authors, contents, and even pressmarks of the Islamic volumes in the British Museum.

A. S. Fulton.

RULES RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(as amended on 8th May, 1941)

3. (*a*) **Members shall be divided into three classes :—**

(1) Fellows resident in Great Britain or abroad.

(2) Members who usually reside outside the London postal area and have no place of business there.

(3) Honorary Fellows and Foreign Extraordinary Fellows admitted as hereinafter provided.

(*b*) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members.

4. Any person desirous of becoming a Fellow or Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted. Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions.

17. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Fellows	3	3	0
Members residing in the British Isles	2	2	0
Members residing abroad	1	10	0

17A. The Annual Subscription for Associates shall be as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Library Associates	1	10	0
Student Associates		10	6

19. An Ordinary Member may compound for all future annual subscriptions by paying in lieu thereof one sum calculated according to the Member's age and category as follows :—

Under 40 years of age : Eleven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17.

Between 40 and 60 years of age : Nine times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17.

Over 60 years of age : Seven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 17.

23. The first payment of subscription is due on election, but if a candidate be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year.

When a candidate is proposed for election, this form shoul be completed in block letters and sent to the Secretary, Roy Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION

Name

Occupation

Address

being desirous of becoming a { *Fellow** / *Member** } *of th* ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, *we, being Members of th said Society, hereby recommend* *him* / *her* *as a Candidate*

Proposer

Address

Seconder

Address

Strike out whichever description is inapplicable.

An Important Armenian MS. with Greek Miniatures

By H. KURDIAN

(PLATES X-XIII)

IN 1941 while in New York City I was fortunate enough to purchase an Armenian MS. which I believe will be of interest to students of Eastern Christian iconography.

The MS. is one of the Four Gospels in Armenian, written on paper leaves measuring 7 × 10 inches, and in a hand representing the style of transition from uncial to round letters, a more or less distinct period in Armenian script from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century.[1] The writing runs 21 lines to the page and is in one column, a most unusual arrangement in an Armenian MS. of the Gospels, espec ally of large size such as this, since generally there are two columns to the page. The MS. has no binding, its edges are well worn, and the paper stained from dampness and foxed. Although it has had hard usage, yet the extant portions are in fairly good condition and the writing is still protected by adequate margins. There are serious lacunæ, however, in the text. Only one leaf remains from Matthew ; in Mark, ii, 19–vi, 45 is missing, together with one leaf between folios 22 and 23 ; Luke breaks off at x, 26, and John is entirely gone.

The MS. has a number of colophons, but only two by the original scribe. The first is at the end of Matthew (present folio 1*a*) where he gives his own name as Kozma "a scribe and ecclesiastic", his father's as Bedros, and his mother's as Maria. The second is at the end of Mark (present folio 33*a*) where he again gives his name and also the name of Baba Simeon (perhaps the recipient of the MS.) of Urha and his father, a priest Kirakos. Two lines of Greek follow, requesting the blessings and prayers of the reader. No place or date is mentioned in either of these colophons.

The name of the scribe Kozma is most uncommon among

[1] However there are earlier examples of transition style. In the library of Etchmiadzin No. 102/2679 is the earliest Armenian paper MS. known, dated 971. A vellum Armenian MS. fragment is dated 1040. The MS. No. 1687/1890 is dated 1174, MS. No. 921/948 dated 1196, MS. No. 163/2606 dated 1198 are all on paper, written by different scribes, and have great similarity of writing with my MS. There are some others in the transition style in the same library, No. 1561/1568 on vellum dated 1173, No. 1239/1214 on paper dated 1118, No. 2093/2101 on paper dated 1223, No. 482/3795 on paper dated 1190.

Armenians in general and scribes in particular.[1] A list of names of Armenian scribes, paper makers, binders, and illuminators, which I am publishing in the near future, has thousands of names, but only one scribe named Kozma. He is the scribe of the Four Gospels MS. No. 88 of the Mekhitharist Library of St. Lazaro, the Armenian monastery of Venice. This MS. is written in a very fine uncial hand on parchment and was executed in K͟hārpērt at the church of St. Kārābēt and St. Hāgop. Unfortunately the space for the date in the colophon has been left empty, but a later hand has written an Armenian alphabetic date equivalent to our A.D. 1205. The scribe does not give his parent's names. The MS. is undoubtedly earlier than the fictitious date of 1205, probably being from the middle of the twelfth century, but not later.

In my collection I have a parchment MS. of the Four Gospels written in the same beautiful uncial hand as the Mekhitharist (Venice) MS. No. 88, and illuminated in the same manner and style. It is therefore unquestionably written by the same scribe. Unfortunately a criminal hand has erased the scribal colophon at the end of Matthew, but a part of it at the bottom remains legible as follows: ". . . sinful scribe Kozma I beg to remember." Owing to a lacuna at the end of the MS. the last part of the main colophon of the MS. is missing. Thus we have two MSS. by Kozma, both written in the same style (uncial), on the same kind of very fine parchment material, and decorated in the same style of illumination.[2]

The third MS. by Kozma is the one here considered. This, as already stated, was written in transitional style rather than in uncial, and on paper in single column rather than on vellum in double columns, as were the other two (Mekhitharist No. 88 and Kurdian No. 2). Nor does it have any decoration (marginal illuminations or even decorated capitals) except a frontispiece to Mark, a large decorative U (Armenian S) capital to the same and a large bird (eagle?) on the margin under the frontispiece of Mark. Beside these original decorations there are the three miniatures (full-page and in colour) reproduced here. This variance of illumination

[1] The only other Kozma known to me is an Armenian MS. illuminator active 1662–1695 in Eastern Armenia. Kozma's mother's name Maria is definitely un-Armenian, and in Greek form.

[2] For a brief description of my MS. see Professor Allen Wikgren's article, "Armenian Gospel MSS. in the Kurdian Collection," MS. No. 2, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lv, part ii, 1936, pp. 155–8.

between the MSS. of Kozma is not hard to understand as not all Armenian scribes were illuminators. We have no information that Kozma beside being a scribe was also an illuminator.

My identification of this Kozma with the scribe Kozma of the other two MSS. (Mekhitharist No. 88 and Kurdian No. 2) is based more or less on circumstancial evidence. First there is the uncommon name of the scribe. Then in all the MSS. the scribe humbles himself in the same way. Finally the scribe Kozma in all three MSS. likes to inscribe his name in the same transitional style (even in the uncial gospels) in the secondary colophons which he adds at the end of the various gospels.

As we noted, the Mekhitharist MS. 88 was written in K̲h̲ărpĕrt. In the No. 2 gospel of my collection unfortunately the place of writing is not given, but various indications make me believe that it was written in the same locality. The present MS. also very unfortunately lacks information about the place of its origin. However a name in Kozma's colophon, Baba Simeon of Urha (Edessia, Urfa, on the latest maps), makes us suspect that this MS., too, must have been written in Western Armenia. The name Simeon is not as rare as Kozma and Maria among Armenians, but the title Baba (from Greek Pappas, father) is most unusual. If we add the fact that at the end of Kozma's colophon on page 33*a* there are two lines of Greek in the same ink and apparently of the same age as the original inscription, and that the miniatures as well as the decorations are very much in the Greek style with Greek titles written on them, we are definitely obliged to accept this fragmentary gospel [1] as the product of the same Greek-Syrian influenced territory of which K̲h̲ărpĕrt (and Urfa) were very much a part up until the thirteenth century. Large and active Armenian communities had resided there from time immemorial and had many churches and monasteries in the region.

Attention is invited to our MS., however, primarily for its miniatures which w th their Greek-inscribed titles are most interesting for their Byzantine traditional style, expression, and composition. Three are here illustrated, but the frontispiece to Mark, although contemporary with these, and the portrait of Luke, which is of later date, are omitted.

Fig. 1 is The Baptism from folio 1*b* of the MS. There is a great similarity between this scene and the Baptism in the painted panel

[1] At the present No. 11 of Four Gospels of my collection of MSS.

of the Sancta Sanctorum (Museo Cristiano, Rome), in the fresco of the church of Qeledjlar, and in the miniature of the Menologion of Basil II (Vatican Library, Rome). All four contain only two angels, although only in ours is one each of the angel's wings upturned. The first angel in our MS. almost covers the second except for the head and part of the left shoulder, while the other three compositions disclose as much of the second angel including his hands veiled with a towel.

Our miniature shows high mountains in the background as do the other three, although it is entirely devoid of landscape or vegetation. The River Jordan in all four is presented as a cone-shaped, wavy mound. In ours the water reaches up to Christ's hips, in the Qeledjlar fresco up to the neck, in the other two up to the shoulders. In our MS. at the feet of Christ there appears in somewhat damaged condition a colourless, shadeless, plainly outlined, bearded, but almost cherubic, nude personification of the River Jordan. Beneath it the miniaturist has inscribed in red and Greek letters, "the Jordan." Only one of the other Baptisms, the Qeledjlar fresco, has this interesting detail.

Christ in our miniature is represented slightly sideways and bent forward from the hips up. An unusual feature is that here, unlike in the other three, He has His hand raised up high as if receiving the baptism. The hand of God speeding the dove, which is found over His head in the other three, is missing in our miniature. The semi-circular segment of heaven in our picture is light blue in colour with a plain border outlined in a thin line of black ink from which three equally long lines extend. A small radiant cross is in the centre of the semicircle.

John the Baptist is depicted in all four scenes with his right hand resting over the head of Christ, but in our miniature he stands erect with his left foot in the water, while in the other three representations he stands upon the river bank and is bending forward toward Christ. In the fresco and the Basil II miniatures he seems to be climbing along the bank. Also, the other three scenes show him with long, draped, and multifold clothing, but in ours he is clad in a plain shirt reaching his elbows and terminating above his knees. The sleeves and hem appear fringed, perhaps an indication of a frayed condition. The forerunner looks full face toward us and gestures with his left hand.

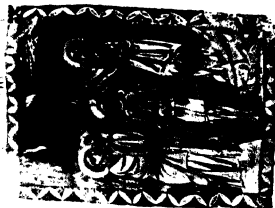
Two disciples of John the Baptist are presented in all of these

FIG. 1. THE BAPTISM
Kurdian Collection MS. No. 11

FIG. 2. THE ANNUNCIATION TO MARY.
Kurdian Collection MS. No. 11.

FIG. 3. SYMEON HOLDING THE CHRIST-CHILD.
Kurdian Collection MS. No. 11.

Fig. 4. The Baptism by Ignatios. Djulfa Collection MS. No. 36

Fig. 5. The Baptism by Kirakos of Tabriz. Djulfa Collection No. 47

compositions except that the Qeledjlar fresco depicts not two disciples but Jesus and John the Baptist.[1] In the panel of the Sancta Sanctorum only their heads and shoulders can be seen, while in the miniature of the Basil II Menologion we see them full-figured. In our miniature the disciplies are far removed and hidden behind the mountain on the left bank of the river. The head of the one at the left is covered. There is also an important figure in addition to the traditional group, a fully clothed mother carrying astride upon her shoulder a naked child, whom she is evidently bringing to be baptized.

We shall omit making comparisons with the other two miniatures (Figs. 2 and 3). But all three are executed with the same ability, in light colours, and with Greek faces and figures. They also have Greek titles.

The miniatures in this Armenian MS. of the gospe's are not Armenian in character, physiognomy, costume, or style of execution. Even the tradition of presentation of the subjects is not Armenian. For those who may wish to satisfy themselves on this point I illustrate two Armenian miniatures of the Baptism for comparison. The first (Fig. 4) is a miniature by one of the most renowned of Eastern Armenian miniaturists, Iknadios,[2] and is found in a MS. of the Four Gospels written in A.D. 1236 (somewhat contemporary to our MS.) in Eastern Armenia and now preserved as No. 36 in the library of the Armenian monastery of Djulfa (Isfahan, Persia). In it Christ is standing in the River Jordan facing us with arms open. The water is not piled up cone-shaped to His hips. At His feet to the left we see the personification of the river in the shape of a human-headed dragon. John and the angels have exchanged their usual places. The angels, without wings but with the towel, are at the left, one of them being scarcely visible. John stands on the river bank almost on top of personified (human-headed dragon) River Jordan, and is dressed in a fringed garment resembling goat skin which reaches to his elbows and to above his knees. The scene also includes the hand of God speeding the dove from the semi-circular segment of heaven.

The second miniature (Fig. 5) was executed by another great

[1] I am deeply grateful to my great friend Dr. Harold R. Willoughby of the University of Chicago for communicating this information to me. He has done much excellent work in Greek Iconography.

[2] See my article, "Miniaturist Iknadios," with twenty-six illustrations of his miniatures in the Armenian periodical *Anahid*, No. 3, Paris, France, 1939.

Armenian miniaturist, Kirakos of Tabriz, and is taken from the gospels MS. No. 47 of the same library as the preceding. This MS. was written and illuminated in A.D. 1330 or about a century later than the time of Iknadios and of our unknown miniaturist. In the A.D. 1330 miniature the position of the angels and John are the same as is usual in Greek presentations. The River Jordan is personified as a great and knotted dragon over which Christ stands facing us with hands over his chest. His right hand is folding in the form of the apostolic benediction, thus ready to be extended in blessing. He stands in wavy water which extends in a dome-shaped pile up to his neck. John is dressed in a belted and hem-fringed shirt which covers his elbows with its folds but reaches only to above his knees. He stands with both legs knee-deep in the water. Both angels carry design-decorated or embroidered towels, and the left wing of each is turned upwards. A rocky mountain occurs on each side of the river and the sky is covered with some doughnut shaped clouds among which the semi-circular segment, the hand of God, and the dove are plainly visible.

We see then that the Armenian tradition as well as the style of execution in these two miniatures are totally different from the Greek example in the Armenian MS. of Kozma. The most outstanding difference in tradition appears in the half-clothed condition of Christ, Iknadios and Kirakos both having covered the lower part of the body. The baptism in Kozma's Armenian gospel, however, presents Christ as completely nude, without even the covering provided by a frontal position of the hands such as is found in the fresco of Qeledjlar and the panel of the Sancta Sanctorum. Our miniature has a much closer relationship to the fresco of the church of Qeledjlar, thus representing the Cappadocian style of baptism. However, the Kozma depiction is totally devoid of any Oriental physiognomy such as is found in the fresco and in the miniature of Basil II.

I have no doubt that the miniatures of the Kozma gospels are contemporary with the writing; i.e. they belong to the second half of the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century. These miniatures are executed on the same paper on which the original scribe Kozma has written the text, i.e. present folio 1 on one side has the end of Matthew with the first Kozma colophon, and on the reverse the miniature of the baptism. But here are some other unusual and puzzling characteristics of the MS. which should be

mentioned in this connection, such as the curious fact that the miniaturist did not use the allotted pages for the usual and traditional portraits of the evangelists. The only one which appears, the full-page portrait of Luke, was added by a later restorer of the MS. in the year 1374. This man, who left his three-line colophon at the beginning of Luke under the frontispiece, identifies himself as Karapet, a bookbinder, and it is also he who has restored to the best of his ability the first five leaves of Luke in round letter (polorkir) style and has added his full page colophon dated A.D. 1374. The fact that five leaves had to be restored by him shows that the MS. had suffered much depletion by the time it reaches his hands. But much before Karapet's day (1374) another hand had found it necessary to restore the MS. and even to add at least one leaf known to us to the Gospel of Mark by rewriting it in an unusual style and inserting it into the book. Assuming that these restorations were about one hundred years apart from each other,[1] we arrive

[1] As basis for our assumption 216 Armenian Four Gospel MSS. dated from the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century were taken into consideration. These are catalogued in *The Catalogue of Armenian MSS. of Vassbouragan*, by Yervant Lalaian, vol. i, published in Tiflis, 1915.

No.	written	restored	No.	written	restored
No. 45	written 1188,	restored 1519	No. 124	written XIV,	restored 1709
No. 51	„ 1251,	„ 1651	No. 126	„ XIV,	„ 1647
No. 54	„ 1273,	„ 1554	No. 137	„ 1409,	„ 1645
No. 56	„ 1280,	„ 1754	No. 143	„ 1418,	„ 1756
No. 58	„ 1286,	„ 1595	No. 149	„ XV,	„ 1750
No. 67	„ XIII,	„ 1401	No. 151	„ 1421,	„ 1597
No. 71	„ XIII,	„ 1354	No. 163	„ 1437,	„ 1747
No. 72	„ XIII,	„ 1569	No. 167	„ 1444,	„ 1612
No. 73	„ XIII,	„ 1430	No. 179	„ 1456,	„ 1589
No. 74	„ XIII,	„ 1453	No. 181	„ 1458,	„ 1628
No. 77	„ 1304,	„ 1374	No. 191	„ 1471,	„ 1581
No. 79	„ 1304,	„ 1585	No. 198	„ 1476,	„ 1575
No. 82	„ 1307,	„ 1624	No. 220	„ XV,	„ 1677
No. 85	„ 1321,	„ 1504	No. 228	„ XV,	„ 1735
No. 92	„ 1332,	„ 1438	No. 229	„ XV,	„ 1751
No. 93	„ 1336,	„ 1602	No. 230	„ XV,	„ 1511
No. 94	„ 1336,	„ 1423	No. 233	„ XV,	„ 1655
No. 101	„ 1355,	„ 1575	No. 244	„ XV,	„ 1490
No. 102	„ 1357,	„ 1597	No. 245	„ XV,	„ 1579
No. 105	„ 1375,	„ 1798	No. 248	„ XV,	„ 1587
No. 108	„ 1393,	„ 1562	No. 142	„ 1418,	„ no date
No. 112	„ XIV,	„ 1596	No. 238	„ XV,	„ 1587
No. 120	„ XIV,	„ 1606	No. 47	„ XII,	„ 1284

Some of these have been restored a second time, i.e. Nos. 47 in 1559, 51 in 1741, 167 in 1668, 238 in 1792, 142 in 1810. Beside these No. 63 written in 1294 restored in 1386 and again in 1580. No. 68 written in the thirteenth century restored in 1503 and again in 1592.

In this group of forty-eight MSS. only four have been restored in periods of less than one hundred years. Thus less than 8 per cent of the MSS. are restored or need restoration during the first hundred years of their existence. No. 77 written in 1304 was restored in 1374; however, this is a rare example.

Also in this group we have seven MSS. that have been restored a second time.

at a date of about A.D. 1275 for the work of the earlier and unknown restorer. Thus the original completion of the MS. by the scribe Kozma and the unknown miniaturist must have occurred about the year 1175 or not later than A.D. 1200.

No. 167, written in 1444, was restored in 1612 and again fifty-six years after in 1668. The rest were restored a second time not less than 90 years after their first restoration, and one 275 years after.

Thus our assumption based on these facts has justification when we accept one hundred years as the time that elapsed between restorations.

The Muslims in Poland:
Their Origin, History, and Cultural Life

By L. BOHDANOWICZ

WITH the Tatar tribe which inhabits the north-eastern region of Poland there is connected a little known page not only of Polish history, but of history in general. Whereas all other Muslim peoples established themselves in Europe as conquerors (omitting the majority of Muslims in Yugoslavia, who are of Serb origin and were converted to Islam by their Turkish conquerors), the Polish Tatars inhabit a region never touched by a Muslim invader, and history teaches us that they began to settle in Poland from the middle of the fourteenth century and already professed the religion of Islam.

There is no doubt as to their ethnic origin: they are of Turco-Mongol race and descended from the Golden Horde, an Empire created by Juchi, son of Jingiz-Khan. But it is uncertain exactly when and under what circumstances they settled in Poland. So we have above all to decide: (1) the causes and conditions of the formation of this little Islamic island, the farthest advanced in the west of Europe; (2) why has it been able, surrounded on all sides by a Christian population, to preserve its religion throughout the centuries, especially from the fourteenth to the seventeenth, which were characterized by a bitter struggle between Christianity and Islam?

Their Origin.—The origin of the Polish Tatars, like most of the still unwritten history of Golden Horde, is very obscure, as the relevant authentic documents are inadequate. Authentic documents become abundant only from about 1475; from them one can conclude that at that time their legal and social situation had already been stabilized: they possessed estates conceded to them by the central power in return for an obligation of military service in the event of war. The oldest document is dated 1392 and concerns the assignment of landed property to a Tatar family. From its date one can conclude that the Tatars began to settle in the country before 1392. What were the reasons which decided the central power to grant such a wide right of asylum to an element so foreign in religion and race? It is true that this right of asylum made military service obligatory in the event of war, but this obligation

was also a mark of confidence not accorded to everyone. In the absence of sufficient direct information we are obliged to have recourse to general history.

The ancestors of the Polish Tatars began to settle in the environs of Wilno, a region of Poland attached to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the fourteenth century. At that time it was a very great country stretching from Niemen to the Oka and from the Baltic to the Black Sea; constantly threatened in the west by the Teutonic Knights and in the east by the principality of Moscow which was beginning to dominate the other Russian principalities thanks to the favour of the Golden Horde, whose vassal it was. The danger from Muscovy was particularly great: the Lithuanian people at that time counted only a few thousand souls, and there was a danger that the Russian principalities, which were vassals of Lithuania, might tend to separate from Lithuania and as a result be annexed by Muscovy at the first opportunity under the pretext of affinity of language and community of religion.

Having to fight in two opposite directions, the Lithuanian Grand Dukes not only strove to avoid conflicts with the Golden Horde, then at the height of its power, but even endeavoured to obtain its alliance against their redoubtable neighbours. According to certain sources this alliance was first concluded in 1319 and was directed against the Teutonic Knights. Some decades later the historical sources become perfectly explicit. For instance, to cite only the most important examples: in 1370 the Tatars took part, on the side of Lithuania, in the war against the Teutonic Knights; in 1380 there was an alliance against Muscovy, the aim of which was no less than the partition of that principality, though this alliance had no results, for the Lithuanian army did not join the Tatar army in time, and the Tatars were defeated by the Russian princes at the celebrated battle of Kulikowo in 1380, which marked the beginning of the decline of the Golden Horde. It must be emphasized that this policy of alliance was facilitated by the Lithuanians being still pagans; for it would be difficult to imagine a Christian people allied to a Muslim people at that time.

The Union of Lithuania and Poland in 1386 and the concomitant conversion of the Lithuanian people to Catholicism did not modify this policy towards the Golden Horde; on the contrary, since the Union had joined the forces of the two countries, the policy became more systematic and even more dynamic. At that time the two

allies interchanged their roles: since the central power of the Golden Horde was becoming weaker and weaker, it was now the khans who sought the aid of the Polish-Lithuanian United Kingdom. That kingdom, taking advantage of circumstances, was no longer satisfied with the plan to partition Muscovy, but aimed higher. As the price of promised aid the Khans undertook to cede to it their suzerain rights over Muscovy. The most interesting attempt in this direction was the alliance with Khan Tochtamysh. Having been beaten by Timur, he came personally in 1396 to seek the aid of Lithuania in his struggle for power. The alliance did not yield any result: the Polish-Lithuanian army and Tochtamysh along with his partisans were defeated at the battle of Worksla on the 12th August, 1399, by Khan Timur-Kutluk, protege of the Great Timur, who sent him help.

It is worth mentioning that the Tatars took part in the famous battle of Grünwald (15th July, 1410), where the Teutonic Knights were annihilated.

Jaguello, King of Poland, and his cousin Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania for life, pursued indefatigably to the end of their days the same policy towards the Golden Horde, upholding the candidature of their own khans in order to weaken Muscovy. But although the United Kingdom played a predominant role in the affairs of the Golden Horde, this policy did not bring the results expected. From the struggle of the rival khans for power, the reign of each one was ephemeral and rarely lasted more than some months. The policy of the United Kingdom was also continued, perhaps less energetically and systematically, by the successors of Jagello even after the Golden Horde had split into several independent khanates.

In the light of the facts it is easy to understand why the Lithuanian Grand Dukes favoured the immigration of the Tatars. Having tested their loyalty in war they offered to let them settle round Wilno, thereby seeking to reinforce with a Tatar element the Lithuanian element which had been submerged under the Ruthenian population, as well as to people a country then very sparsely inhabited. The proof that comradeship in arms had made a good impression on the Lithuanian Grand Dukes can be seen both from their settling the Tatars quite near the capital as well as from the grant of rights and privileges exceptional for those days. To this demographic reason must be added a military one—the desire

to have the services of the famous Tatar cavalry. To this current of immigration, created by the central power, must be added one created by the Tatars themselves. In the continuous civil wars in the Golden Horde the partisans of conquered khans were generally obliged to seek asylum abroad, and often made for Lithuania, their traditional ally.

After living for nearly 600 years in the country the Polish Tatars have formed a separate ethnical group, with its own traditions and customs, and quite distinct from the other Turco-Tatar groups. They do not present a very prominent ethnical type, but a variety of features from the Caucasian to Turco-Tatar type, with many intermediary aspects but with the Turco-Tatar type predominating. This can be explained. The Golden Horde was composed of several tribes of different anthropological origin and it is certain that there were representatives of all these tribes among the ancestors of the Polish Tatars. It is easy to realize this by studying in detail the alliances made by the successors of Jagello with the different khanates into which the Golden Horde split up. Moreover, since very few women were with them on their arrival in Poland, the right of marrying native Christian women without changing their religion had been granted to them. As after the early abrogation of this right the Polish Tatars have married among themselves, the Turco-Tatar type has remained predominant.

Their History before the Partition of Poland.—It was not without a little difficulty that the Tatars settled down in their adopted country: in the time of Witold some who could not adapt themselves to a sedentary life and preferred the nomadic attempted to return to their native steppes. Witold, it appeared, had recourse to coercive measures to stop this. But it was not a very serious relapse and towards the end of the fifteenth century the Tatars were quite acclimatized and by the middle of the sixteenth century had forgotten their native tongue. The explanation generally given is that having very few of their own women, they were obliged to marry local women. These taught the children their own language while the fathers were often absent on military service. These mixed marriages are also cited to explain why the Tatars often have Polish names which they borrowed from their wives. But this theory can only be accepted with reservation.

Although they had forgotten their mother tongue, the religious ardour of the Tatars did not diminish. Attachment to their religion

made them always anxious to keep in touch with co-religionists abroad. These relations were never broken even in olden times when communications were very difficult, and they were intensified or relaxed according to political circumstances. They were particularly frequent during the first half of the fifteenth century from the United Kingdom's policy of alliance with the Golden Horde: certain khans would spend several years in Lithuania together with their partisans. According to some sources Haji Girai, the first Khan of the Crimea, was brought up in Lithuania. In the sixteenth century these relations lost their intensive character but remained fairly frequent owing to individual initiative due to the friendly relations between the two last descendants of Jagello and the Muslim countries, especially Turkey.

The Tatars' attachment to their religion was above all expressed in the pilgrimage to Mekka. A curious document of the sixteenth century bears witness that they undertook it in those days. There is a treatise in Turkish written by order of Rustem Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Suleiman the Magnificent by an anonymous Polish Tatar during his stay in Stamboul on his return from Mekka. It is entitled "Risalei-Tatar-i-Lekh" or "The Polish Tatars" and describes the conditions under which the less wealthy Tatars made the journey. It also contains information about the origin of the Tatars and their circumstances about 1550. In those days they possessed many Arabic coins which must have been brought back from the pilgrimages.

As diplomatic agents the Tatars had the opportunity to keep in touch with their co-religionists abroad. Indeed after their establishment in Poland as former allies it was only natural that the Polish Government should make use of their services to maintain relations with Muslim countries. So in the second half of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century, interpreters of Turkish and Tatar, diplomatic couriers and sometimes even special envoys were recruited from among them. Later this ceased, but in 1716 Sulkiewicz, a captain in the Royal Army, was sent on a mission to the Khan of the Crimea.

There are some reminders that in the sixteenth century the Tatars often brought imams from the Crimea and Turkey to fill the ranks of their clergy. It is interesting to note here the special use they make of the Arabic alphabet. Not only do they like to copy the Qur'an and Hama'ils (or breviaries) by hand, but they

also possess a whole literature in Polish or White-Ruthenian written in Arabic characters. There are: (1) Tefsirs, often voluminous books containing the translation and commentary of the Qur'an, and (2) Kitabs or collection of short stories and legends, generally on religious subjects. Documents of the sixteenth century show that they often used the Arabic alphabet in order to sign their names as well as to correspond among themselves in Polish or White-Ruthenian.

The middle of the sixteenth century, known as the Golden Age of Polish history, saw the zenith of the development of the Polish Tatars. Authors are not agreed as to their number at that time, but we can take it that they were about 100,000. The majority was spread out in the country, in colonies or villages that totalled about one hundred. Each village had its own mosque. In the villages or towns the Tatars were generally accustomed to live side by side, thus forming whole Tatar streets and sometimes even quarters. To this day nearly every town in the region inhabited by the Tatars has Tatar street names.

Nothing explains their legal and social position at that time better than the following passage of a Royal decree dated 20th June, 1568, which sanctions the rights and privileges of the Tatar nobility: "In view of the faithful services rendered to the cause of the State by our Tatar subjects inhabiting the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and owning landed estates therein, We decree that the rights, liberties, and privileges granted to them by Our ancestors and by Us be reaffirmed and confirmed and that they shall enjoy the same rights as Our other subjects belonging to the nobility in Our State, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania."

To be exact the Tatar nobility enjoyed political rights inferior to those of the Christian nobility: they could neither elect nor be elected to the Diet or the provincial councils, a prohibition which persisted right up to the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807.

From this decree we can see that the characteristic feature of the Tatar nobility, as of all nobility in the Middle Ages, was the possession of landed property. Since these estates were granted to the Tatars directly by the central power, they were sometimes called "the King's Tatars"; and were to a certain extent the direct vassals of the king, as they could not alienate their estates without the permission of the central power. The last King of

Poland had this precarious right of possession converted into an absolute right of property.

Socially the Tatars were divided into three classes: (1) the first class was made up of those Tatars who had received very large estates and were thereby not only bound to military service in the event of war, but were also obliged to provide contingents of fully equipped horsemen. It must be said that in comparison with the great magnates of the Duchy their landed properties did not appear very important. To this first class belonged the princes, begs, mirzas or murzas, and ulans, who even in their country of origin had privileged positions, and who zealously defended the seniority of their families. Indeed, on their arrival in Lithuania the Tatars had their rights to nobility confirmed by the central power. If this were contested, diplomatic approach would be made to the competent khan whose ruling would be decisive. The archives have preserved copies of these "certificates of nobility", mostly made out by the khans of the Crimea. (2) The second class was made up of simple warriors; they also received lands, but their lots were small, and they generally cultivated their lands themselves. These first two classes were exonerated from paying taxes but were bound to military service without pay. (3) The third class was made up of those Tatars who had received no lands. According to a very plausible theory this "proletariat" is descended from prisoners taken during the invasion of the Crimean Tatars at the beginning of the sixteenth century; they were made to settle in Lithuania so that they might become assimilated with the Polish Tatars, by whose reputation they profited to a certain extent. The representatives of this class lived either in the towns or in the estates of great magnates and worked at gardening, transport, tanning, or in the postal service. But they could enlist in the regular army, when they received pay. Military service opened up to them the possibility of becoming nobles and acquiring lands. As time passed, these differences between the classes became less marked. It is a curious fact that neither in early times nor later have there ever been merchants among the Polish Tatars.

The evidence shows how, throughout their history, the Tatars have practised above all two occupations: agriculture and war. As farmers they proved inferior to the surrounding Christian population. This can be said about the colonists as well as about the owners of landed property. And we see a progressive exodus of Tatars

from the country by reason of being unable to keep the condition of their lands up to the necessary level. Having left the country for the towns, they fell to the rank of the "proletariat" of which we have spoken, or else they enlisted in the regular army because of their pronounced aptitude for warfare. War was their true element, so that their history is primarily the history of their service in the Polish army. And here is only room for a general outline.

Even when they first settled in Poland they got the right to form their own units and to be commanded by their own officers. This privilege can doubtless be explained by their special method of waging war which resembled that of Cossacks, who borrowed it from them: they were adepts at reconnaissance, advance guard, and guerrilla warfare. In the sixteenth century, in the event of the arrierban they made up six cavalry regiments without counting those Tatars who served in the regular army. The Tatars fought in all the wars waged by Poland, which they served (as Professor Talko-Hryncewicz, of Cracow University, has said) "with a fidelity often rising to heroism." Their devotion to Poland never failed even in the times of religious persecutions. Indeed after the death of Stephen Batory the Golden Age of Polish history came to an end, because Sigismond III Vaza subordinated his policy to his dynastic interests and religious principles. A fervent Catholic he was under the influence of the Jesuits and had laws passed in the diet tending to curtail the privileges of the Tatars. The reaction of the Tatars was not long in coming and they began to emigrate to Turkey. Those who did so were perhaps the less courageous. Those who remained redoubled their zeal to serve their adopted country. We can find a proof that this reactionary policy did not express the true feelings of the Polish people from a sentence of King John III Sobieski's father, Jacob Sobieski, taken from his journal of the Chocim campaign of 1621, that is to say when this reactionary policy was at its height. This sentence reads: "... in this skirmish Captains Bohdan and Czarowicz, two Lithuanian Tatars, were killed. They are a chivalrous people, who have for long deserved well of the Fatherland." Professor Tretiak, of Cracow University, commenting on this sentence, devoted a page of eulogy to the patriotic devotion of the Tatars. Nor indeed did the Tatars lack opportunities of proving their attachment to Poland during those years of continual warfare with Muscovy, the Cossacks of the Ukraine and Sweden, which have been so eloquently described

by Henryk Sienkiewicz. Sienkiewicz praises the Polish Tatars, and among the great Polish writers it was he who knew them best, since he probably had a Tatar friend in his childhood; his short story *Hania* is of a strictly autobiographic study and one of the principal characters is a young Tatar.

No one could better appreciate the bravery and loyalty of the Tatars than King John III Sobieski: already before his coming to the throne the Diet influenced by him began to reinstate the Tatars in their ancient privileges, so that after his election to the throne, their situation was completely re-established.

The name of the Polish Tatars has become immortalized in the lancers called "uhlans". Ulan is the name of an old Tatar family famous in Polish military chronicles. In the first half of the eighteenth century a Colonel Ulan was in command of a Tatar cavalry regiment which, by its evolutions and equipment, so pleased the then King of Poland, August of Saxony, that he had a regiment formed on exactly the same lines in Saxony.

Nothing can testify better to the patriotic devotion of the Tatars than their conduct in the years preceding the third partition of Poland; and this page of their history deserves attention, especially as the data have not been published in any language but Polish.

The well-known Polish historians Konopczynski and Korzon, who have written much about the reign of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, often mention the names of Tatars in their works. For example, during the Confederation of Bar 1769–1772 the Tatars, Colonel Korycki and General Bielak, distinguished themselves; it was owing to the General that the Confederates won one of their rare victories in Lithuania. During the Kosciuszko insurrection of 1794 there were six Tatar cavalry regiments, and Colonels Achmatowicz, Tuhan-Baranowski, Ulan, and Azulewicz particularly distinguished themselves. Before the insurrection Azulewicz was in command of the King's Tatar Life Guards and was killed in a charge during the defence of Wilno.

The name of Kosciuszko is highly venerated by the Tatars in whose eyes he is the incarnation of the best patriotic virtues. History has preserved the text of a touching oration delivered by one of their imams during the prayers said for the repose of Kosciuszko's soul when news of his death was received.

The third partition of Poland ended the strictly Polish period of their history. We have seen that geo-political circumstances

forced the Grand Dukes of Lithuania to seek an alliance with the Golden Horde, a policy favoured by the then paganism of the Lithuanians. Since in the years before the decline of the Golden Horde this policy succeeded, the Grand Dukes conceived the idea of settling the Tatars on uninhabited lands, in order thereby to reinforce the Lithuanian element that was being swamped by the Ruthenian population. Events showed that they acted rightly, for the Tatars proved obedient subjects, faithful in every trial, and always ready for battle. So it came about that a Muslim tribe enjoying almost all civil rights could flourish in Poland at an epoch characterized by bitter struggles between Christianity and Islam.

From a historical point of view these Tatars are often called "Lithuanian" since they first settled in historic Lithuanian territory. But only in this sense can they be termed Lithuanian; and they were never influenced by a Lithuanian culture, which post-dated their establishment in the country. At the beginning of their stay in Lithuania they spoke along with the majority of the native population the White-Russian dialect, but this, from the end of the sixteenth century, gradually began to give way to the Polish tongue, so that towards the end of the seventeenth century the Tatars were completely Polonized. Since Lithuania preferred to remain separate from Poland at the Treaty of Versailles, there is now no reason for calling them Lithuanian Tatars.

The Polish Tatars in Modern Times.—It appears that the partition of Poland did not greatly change the situation of the Polish Tatars. Indeed Catherine II by a decree of 20th October, 1794 (when the region inhabited by the Tatars lay in the Russian part of Poland), confined herself to confirming their rights while leaving them religious liberty and granting them wide access to civil and military careers. The aim of this decree was evidently to detach the Tatars from Polish culture. The policy did not succeed, at least to begin with, for a certain number preferred to emigrate through fear of being unable to adapt themselves to new conditions of life as the regiments in which they were accustomed to serve were actually disbanded. Some of them, former partisans of Kosciuszko, passed into the service of a neighbouring power; others emigrated to Turkey. In 1797 Paul I had a cavalry regiment formed of Tatars, but it did not exist for long.

After the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw of 1807 the Tatars obtained political rights. Of the Tatar members of the Diet

the best known was Tarach Murza Buczacki who, after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, produced the only Polish version of the Qur'an.

The Tatars who joined the army of the Grand Duchy were many and they fought in its ranks until Napoleon's fall. By a decree of 24th August, 1812, Napoleon had ordered a cavalry regiment of Polish Tatars to be formed. Because of the retreat of the Grande Armée only one squadron was formed and this was attached to the Imperial Guard under the command of Captain Ulan. The April, 1938, number of the Review *La Légion Etrangère* is devoted to the history of this squadron, whose commander, at that time a colonel, perished during the Polish insurrection of 1831.

Many were the Tatars who took part in the insurrections in 1831 and 1863. After 1863 we notice a fresh current of emigration of the Tatars towards Turkey, which, right up to the years before the 1914–18 war, had a special attraction for them as the seat of the Caliph.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a new current of emigration began, this time towards the United States and for economic reasons. The emigrants were mostly poor Tatars, the "proletarians" who either possessed no lands or were unable to run them profitably. There is in New York a Tatar colony of 500 souls possessing a prayer-house and a cemetery.

Before the last War the Polish Tatars were, from the point of view of religious hierarchy, a dependency of the Muftiate of the Crimea, but this connection was purely nominal, for the Muftis could not exercise any influence on their religious life because of the great distances.

Among the most intimate friends of Marshal Pilsudski there is especia ly notable a Tatar, Iskander Sulkiewicz; who in 1901 organized the Marshal's flight from St. Petersburg. During the last War he joined the Marshal's Leg ons and was killed at the front in 1916. A little before this war he received the posthumous award of the Virtuti M litari, the highest Polish military distinction, and his remains were solemnly transferred to Warsaw.

The reforms introduced after the 1905 revolut on partly did away with the restrictions that prevented the realization of the national and religious aspirations of the Muslims of Russia. The Polish Tatars did not fail to share the work of the Committees whose aim was to improve the lot of all Muslims in Russia. An association

of Polish Muslim students was created at St. Petersburg in 1907 by the future leaders of the cultural movement: Jacob Szynkiewicz, who later became Mufti, and the brothers Olguierd and Arslan Naiman-Mirza Kryczynski.

Considering their number the part the Polish Tatars took in the 1914–18 war was considerable; faithful to their military vocation they were numerous in the Russian army. This is proved by the fact that there were eighteen Polish Tatar generals, a considerable proportion for a people of 25,000 souls. The war and the ensuing Russian revolution thinned their ranks.

With the Russian revolution of 1917–1920 there began a new page of the history of the Polish Tatars. Just after the revolution they founded at Petrograd an association whose presidency was entrusted to Iskander Achmatowicz, a future senator of Poland; and this association took an active part in the nationalist movement of the Muslims of Russia. Above all it played an effective role in forming the Muslim army corps, the aim of which was to guarantee the autonomy of the Muslims of Russia. As there was among the Polish Tatars a large number of officers, it was they who supplied the staff for this corps under the command of Lieutenant-General Sulkiewicz.

The role of the Polish Tatars in the nationalist movement of the Russian Muslims was particularly important in the Crimea and Azerbeijan. The Regional Government of the Crimea contained three Polish Tatars led by General Sulkiewicz, who was Premier. Several hundreds of others held various posts in the administration and army. After the occupation of the Crimea by the White Russian army, General Sulkiewicz's Government was overthrown. Many Polish Tatars, led by Iskander Achmatowicz, returned to Poland to share in the reorganization of their restored fatherland and the others, led by General Sulkiewicz, went to Azerbeijan, where the General accepted the post of chief of staff of the army. After the fall of the Azerbeijan Republic the majority of the Polish Tatars managed to return to Poland; the others, including General Sulkiewicz, were arrested and shot

Remaining true to their ancient traditions, the Polish Tatars formed a cavalry regiment during the Polish-Russian War of 1919–1920. After the conclusion of the peace treaty at Riga in 1921 they were divided among three countries: Poland, Lithuania, and Soviet Russia. This division has considerably weakened them,

but as Olgnierd Kryczynski has remarked "it has brought them advantages which have largely made up for their loss". The restoration of Poland opened up to them a free field for the realization of their religious and cultural aspirations; for the Polish Government not only tolerated but even assisted them.

The goodwill of the Polish Government towards them was shown above all by the creation of a Muslim community under an autonomous Tatar Mufti. Jacob Szynkiewicz, a doctor of oriental languages, was given the office. This measure helped greatly to revive Tatar religious life. Mufti Szynkiewicz was faced with an arduous task. It was first necessary to raise the cultural level of the imams who, before 1914, came from the poorer element of the population and had no great influence on their followers, since their religious knowledge was mostly confined to the ritual and recitation of the set prayers. Mutfi Szynkiewicz organized instructional courses for the imams; and thanks to the material aid furnished by the Government young men could be sent to Cairo to study Muslim theology at the Azhar University. Government aid also freed the clergy from material cares, allowing them to devote themselves solely to their task. Mosques destroyed or damaged during the war of 1914–18 had to be restored, and this was made possible by State aid, by a gift of £500 from H.M. King Fuad of Egypt and by donations from Tatars who had emigrated to the United States. Before the present war there were seventeen mosques and three prayer houses in Poland. A little before the outbreak of hostilities the city of Warsaw presented the Muslim Community with land for the construction of a mosque, not yet built. Adjacent to each mosque there was a school in which the imam taught the children the Arabic alphabet and the ritual. Mufti Szynkiewicz has edited several hand-books of Muslim theology and of prayers in Arabic and Polish.

The social structure of the Tatars has not changed much for centuries. The majority are agriculturists living in villages formerly wholly Tatar, and there are a certain number of artisans. It is the upper classes who have changed with the times: before the partition of Poland they devoted themselves almost exclusively to the military profession, but before the present war there were many in the civil services. Since they enjoyed full civil and political rights they everywhere held important posts, as senators, university professors, and judges of the court of appeal, or in the army. They

took no interest in commerce. A relatively large number were magistrates. But because of the losses suffered in the war of 1914–18 and in the Russian revolution, there were only some dozens of officers. To carry on the old tradition a Tatar squadron was formed in 1937 in a cavalry regiment garrisoned at Wilno.

As the Polish civil legislation had not been unified by the beginning of the present war, the region inhabited by the Tatars was under Imperial Russian civil law. By virtue of this the Tatars had preserved their personal status, that is to say they were under the Muslim Shariat. They have never practised polygamy and in society Tatar women cannot be distinguished from Polish. Among Tatar women many have received a higher education and one of these was appointed assistant in the Wilno faculty of medicine. In the mosque they are separated from the men by a partition. The Tatars are much attached to their religion, so that mixed marriages are not looked upon with favour. A Tatar who changes his religion immediately ceases to belong socially to the Muslim community. Divorces, though quite simple under Muslim law, are relatively rare.

Since the restoration of Poland the relations of the Tatars with their co-religionists abroad have for the first time become systematic and frequent. To take important instances. In the spring of 1925 Mr. Olguierd Kryczynski attended the International Geographical Congress in Cairo as a member of the Polish delegation. He was received by the members of the Egyptian Government as well as by the Grand Sheikh of the Azhar University, and he had the honour of being decorated by King Fuad with the Order of the Nile. This journey to Egypt had practical results: it was to some extent the prelude to diplomatic relations between Poland and Egypt. On his way back Mr. Kryczynski visited Syria, Palestine, and Turkey, receiving everywhere a hearty welcome. Mufti Szynkiewicz, too, has made many journeys to Muslim countries, not counting his attendance at Islamic Congresses as the regular representative of the Polish Muslims. In 1930 he went to the Hejaz as a member of a diplomatic delegation led by Count Raczynski, the present ambassador of Poland in London. In 1932 he went to Cairo to present King Fuad with an address of thanks in the name of the Polish Muslim community.

Several other Tatars have also travelled in Muslim countries, especially in Turkey. Arslan Kryczynski, for example, journeyed in 1934 to Morocco, where he was received in audience by the Sultan.

The students at the Azhar in Cairo have published books in Arabic, particularly one on Marshal Pilsudski and another on the Muslims of Poland. During their stay in Egypt they corresponded regularly with Polish newspapers as well as with the publications of the Polish Tatars, being, so to speak, a link between Poland and Egypt. On returning to Poland one of them was appointed Imam in Warsaw and the other entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Tatars were always representated at official ceremonies organized before the war in honour of distinguished Muslim visitors to Poland, many of whom, including politicians and scientists, came to Poland specially to visit the Tatars.

Their Cultural Life.—A modern cultural movement of the Polish Tatars was started, as we have seen, in 1907 by Szynkiewicz and the brothers Kryczynski. Because of political circumstances it did not become important until the restoration of Poland.

In every centre containing enough Tatars a cultural association was organized. Their work was co-ordinated by a Central Committee, under Olguierd Kryczynski, which organized lectures on history, politics, and religion, propagated literature, established libraries, etc. . . . During the holidays a band of young people would organize a sight-seeing tour.

The most interesting form of this cultural activity was the publication of books and periodicals. A start was made with the publication in 1929 of a book of armorial bearings of noble Polish Tatar families by Mr. St. Dziadulewicz, who is of Tatar origin. Several translations of Muslim treatises followed.

There were three periodicals. A quarterly, *The Islamic Review*, was founded in 1930 by W. G. Djabagui, a journalist of Caucasian origin and related to the Polish Tatars, who is now correspondent of the Polish Telegraphic Agency in Turkey. This review was primarily devoted to religious questions. To facilitate its circulation abroad there were résumés of the principal articles in French. *Tatar Life*, a monthly founded in 1934, was the organ of the Mufti and was more devoted to problems of Tatar daily life. These two reviews also published articles of a general nature, for example, on politics, history, travel, etc. . . . A third publication, *The Tatar Year Book*, founded in 1932, differed in possessing a scientific rather than a general character. Comprising 300–400 pages, it was edited by Arslan Kryczynski, author of about ten volumes on historical and political questions. The two first volumes of *The Year Book*

were composed of various articles on questions with a bearing on the history of the Polish Tatars as well as on Islam. The whole of the third volume contained a monograph on the Polish Tatars from the pen of Stanislas Kryczynski. The fourth volume was in the press on the eve of the present war and was to comprise, among other articles, one by Stanislas Kryczynski on the military history of the Polish Tatars.

St. Kryczynski is of Tatar origin, though an ancestor of his was converted to Catholicism in the seventeenth century and settled in Lwow. After the 1914–18 war the two branches of the Kryczynski family, one Christian and the other Muslim, met for the first time for several generations, and young Stanislas, impelled by Olguierd Kryczynski, was attracted to the study of his ancestors' past. To him are due the best writings on the history of the Polish Tatars; his monograph being a classical work.

But in this cultural work accomplished by the Tatars since the restoration of Poland the first place is held by a solitary article by Olguierd Kryczynski in the first volume of the *Tatar Year Book* entitled "The post-War Nationalist Movement and the Polish Tatars".

It constituted an effort at ideological construction as well as a contribution to the philosophy of Islam. And it seems desirable to give here a résumé of its principal ideas.

The purpose of the article was to reply to the question: does the existence of the Polish Tatars as a separate ethnical group serve any purpose in view of their small numbers precluding any idea of autonomy?

Olguierd Kryczynski qualified the popular doctrine of the rights of small peoples as a corollary to the rights of the individual. Just as the liberty of individuals has to be limited in the higher interest of society so, he argued, the liberty of peoples should be limited in the supreme interest of humanity. It was the doctrine of the rights of small nations, wrongly understood, which led, after 1918, to the Balkanization of Europe. This mischance brought two dangers: (*a*) in the economic sphere it created artificial organisms incapable of existence, which led to a permanent crisis; (*b*) in the political sphere the newly created states were not free from national egoism, which increased political instability. Europe failed to distinguish properly between political and cultural autonomy: for it is in the creation of one's own culture that the

historical mission of every people lies, but not necessarily in the creation of an independent state, which is only one of many means for the creation of one's own culture. The creation of an independent state is very expensive, usually absorbing all the forces of a not very numerous people and leaving them none for the creation of spiritual values. So it is only a very numerous people, with a big mission to accomplish, who can pretend to the foundation of an independent state. To counter the tendency among small peoples to political autonomy, it is necessary to give them cultural autonomy. This step is equally in the interest of the more numerous people among whom a national minority lives as well as in the interest of the world. The culture of a people can only gain by contact with another culture : it is like an orchard whose fertility demands that the trees composing it should belong to different species. The culture of a great people becomes richer and further enriches the spiritual treasury of humanity, if that people grants cultural autonomy to its own national minorities.

The culture of the Polish people would only gain by contact with the culture of Polish Muslims, who enjoy full cultural autonomy. What contribution, he asked, can these Muslims make to Polish culture ? Culture is the sum of the spiritual values created by an ethnical group in order to satisfy its spiritual aspirations. These aspirations are realized in self-expression in the arts and sciences, and above all in religion. Every man in quest of self-knowledge finds in his consciousness elements linking him to his ethnical origin. The Polish Muslims discover two principal elements, their Asiatic origin and their Muslim religion. It is in the development of these two elements that their contribution to Polish culture lies.

In the study of their past the Polish Muslims find the splendour of the civilization of the Golden Horde, which can be judged by the fact that as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century the Mongols made Western Europe a proposal for universal and eternal peace. In their own past the Polish Tatars find the utterly devoted service of their ancestors to the cause of their adopted fatherland, Poland.

The history of the Polish Tatars is interesting not only for their own sake. It casts a light on the policy of alliance practised first by Lithuania and then by the United Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom towards the Golden Horde. Every light, however faint, on the Golden Horde is a contribution to historical science. And considering

the present racial cataclysm might it not be advisable for Europe, as Oliguierd Kryczneki suggested, to seek the assistance of the Muslim peoples on whom the totalitarian countries have failed to get a grip in spite of all their efforts ? Has not the example of the Polish Tatars furnished us with a proof that this is possible and that the Muslim religion is perfectly compatible with the assimilation of European culture ?

Some Early Documents in Persian (I)

By V. MINORSKY

THIS article consists of a short Introduction enumerating the oldest documents in Modern Persian, and of a decipherment of a deed from Khotan (501/1107) and of some private documents from Bāmiyān (607/1211).

(a) Introduction

One of the great disadvantages of Persian studies, both linguistic and historical, is the extreme scarcity of original documents having a personal character, such as private correspondence, records, commercial documents, etc. Here an attempt is made to list such documents, and to increase our knowledge of some of them. A natural limit of our survey is the year A.D. 1220; for the Mongol invasion was bound to change the whole aspect of Iranian life.

A limine we exclude from our list the following categories of early texts :—

A. Any epigraphics, of which a number has come to light recently in connection with the revival of the studies of Persian architecture and the exhibitions and congresses of Persian art.[1] A very unusual Kufic inscription in Persian from Khorram-ābād (Luristān) dated 513/1119 and belonging to Amīr Tughrīl-tegin Bursuq, still awaits publication by Professor Herzfeld.[2] The Persian inscription of a pādishāh of Khitāy at Zunka (Tibet), referred to in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*,[3] is too vague for identification. More or less assimilated to epigraphics are legends on coins and inscriptions on pottery. The most curious example of the first category is the formula found on a coin of the Georgian king Giorgi Lasha (430 of Paschal cycle = A.D. 1210): *ba-nām-i khudā-yi pāk īn-sīm-rā zada-and ba-tārīkh-i chahār-ṣad-u-sī-sāl*, see Pakhomov, *Moneti Gruzii*, *Zap. Num. Otd. IAO*, 1/4, 1910, p. 106. The importance of pottery (bowls, plates, tiles, etc.) for epigraphics cannot be underestimated. General lists of such material have been compiled by Kühnel, "Datierte persische Fayencen," *Jahrb. Asiat. Kunst*, i, 1924, 45–54, and R. Ettinghausen, "Important pieces of Persian

[1] H. Massé, "Persian inscriptions," in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1794–1804, deals chiefly with later periods.
[2] Cf. C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, ii, 251, with a plate.
[3] Transl. by Sir D. Ross, p. 416.

pottery," *Ars Islamica*, II/1, 45,[1] to say nothing of additional articles (by Bahrāmī, etc.) in the special organs of Asiatic Art.

B. The early texts of literary character in whatever garb they have come down to us:

(*a*) In Hebrew script, such as the early Commentary on Ezechiel which Salemann quotes in his article "Zum Mittelpersischen Passiv", *Bull. Ac. St. Petersbourg*, xiii, No. 3, 1900, pp. 269–276, and which uses a Middle Persian form of passive (*xwānihad*) entirely lost in classical Persian. The age of early Judæo-Persian translations is difficult to ascertain. It is also possible that their language is affected by the local dialects of Jewish colonies and contains some archaic features already lost in the speech of the original Persian-speaking population.

(*b*) In Syrian script, such as (*a*) a fragment of an "early Modern Persian" translation of Psalms found in Bulayïq (Turfan) and published by F. W. K. Müller in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, 1915, pp. 215–224 (see additional remarks by H. H. Schaeder in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, xv, 1935, p. 570, and E. Benveniste, *Jour. As.*, juillet 1938, pp. 458–462); nothing definite is known about the age of this short document showing traces of antiquity (nom. abstr. in *-išn*, preposition *p(a)* > Modern Persian *ba-*, some hesitancy about the *iḍāfat*, etc.); or (*β*) the much later interpolations arranged in irregular quatrains, which are found in a Nestorian MS., said to belong to the thirteenth century, see Margoliouth, *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 765–770.

(*c*) In Manichæan script, see F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste, II," in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1904, p. 95 and p. 106, of which the first (M 150) gives only a few names of the Zodiacs, etc., whereas the second (M 106) consisting of "two small folios in 4°" contains a number of Arabic words.

(*d*) In Arabic script: I have quoted a number of the oldest Persian texts (c. A.D. 957–994) in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, p. xii. As regards the ancient copies of the existent works, the *Pharmacopeia* of Muwaffaq al-dīn ibn ʿAlī Haravī, transcribed by Asadī in 447/1055 still has claims to be the earliest existing MS. of a Persian book, and its importance is increased by its orthographic and phonetic features (ē, ō, ڤ, etc.) on which see Seligmann's preface (1853),

[1] Cf. also Ettinghausen, "Dated faience," in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1667–1696.

xxvi–xxviii, and P. Horn's remarks in A. Achundow's translation (1893), 149–158.

C. Any personal documents incorporated in such historical works as *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī*, ed. Morley, 1862, pp. 94, 97, 137, 180, 249, 251, 255, 324, 370, 374, 384, or in such special collections of state papers as the correspondence collected by Muntajab al-dīn Badī', secretary to Sultan Sanjar (511–552/1118–1157), see Baron V. Rosen, *Collections scientifiques*, iii, St. Petersbourg, 1886, pp. 146–159, and Bahā al-dīn al-Baghdādī's *Tawassul ilā al-tarassul*, ed. Tehran, 1315/1936 (documents from the chancery of the Khwārazm-shāh, chiefly of the years 578–9/1182–4).

If we exclude the three above-mentioned classes of early texts, the repertory of personal and original documents will be reduced to the following items :—

1. A private letter written by a Jewish merchant (in Hebrew characters) and found at Dandan-Uyliq near Khotan. It was published by Professor Margoliouth, *JRAS.*, 1903, 747–760, and drastically revised by Salemann, *Zapiski V.O.*, xvi, 1904, pp. 046–057. The letter is supposed to be of the eighth century A.D. (?).[1]

2. The signatures of Jewish witnesses on a Tamil grant referring to a church in Malabar of the early ninth century A.D., see Burnell, *Indian Antiquary*, iii, 1874, p. 314, West, *JRAS.*, iv, 1870, 390, and Salemann, "Judæo-Persica, I. Chudâidât," in *Mém. Acad. St. Petersbourg*, xviii, No. 14, 1897, p. 11. The text consists only of the words *h.mgwn mn... p.dyš gwhwm* "similarly I (so-and-so) am witness thereto". Cf. also the new edition of the inscriptions in *Kerala Society Papers*, 6 (1930).

3. The Judæo-Persian Law Report of A.D. 1020 hailing from Hormshir (i.e. ancient Hormizd Ardashīr, now Ahwāz) in Khūzistān. It was published by Professor Margoliouth in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1897, pp. 671–5, but needs a revision in the light of the later achievements of Iranian philology.

4. A deed for the Sale of Land from the region of Khotan (?), dated 501/1107, edited by Professor Margoliouth, *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 761–770, and now revised by myself (see below).

5. Three entries on a guard-leaf of a Kufic Qor'ān which belonged to the Russian Consul F. A. Bakulin, see V. Zhukovsky, *Zap. V.O.*,

[1] The earliest of the Chinese documents found at Dandan-Uyliq is of A.D. 758, see Sir A. Stein, *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 745.

xiv, 1917, pp. 36–8. They record the birth of three children of the former owner, born in 561/1165, 563/1167, and 567/1171.

(*a*) مولود فرزند خواجه محب الحسی سالوك سف [* شف]
ادینه دوازدهم مای محرم سنه احدی وستین (؟) وخمسائة بادشاه سلطان
ارسلان رعامك (* واتابك ؟) .

"Birth of Sālūk, child of Khwāja Muḥabbat (?) (Mujīb ?) al-Ḥusayni, in the night of Friday, 12 of the month Muḥarram, year 561" (18th November, 1165), the sultan (being) Arslan and the *atābag ?"

(*b*) شف دوشنبه دانکی از شف [مو]لود خاتون در (؟) تاریخ
چهارم شهر رجب شده رجب المبارك سنه ثلاث وستین و خمسائة .

(*c*) . . در شف ادینه یکنیمه از شف . ربیع الآخر سنه سبع
[وستین] وخمسائة .

6. Six documents from Bāmiyān of which one bears the date of 607/1211. I am giving a description and a partial decipherment of them (see below).

7. Two mutilated quatrains in Persian accompanied by an explanation in Chinese written in Ch'üan-chou (Muslim *Zaytūn*) in 1217 and stating that the text is in the script of "Southern Barbarians", see Pelliot, "Les plus anciens documents de l'écriture arabe en Chine, *Jour. As.*, juillet 1913, pp. 171–191.

(*b*) A Deed from Khotan (501/1107)

In the *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 761–5, the late Professor D. S. Margoliouth commented on a Persian deed for the sale of land, of which it is only known that it was procured from Khotan.[1] The forty years which have elapsed since the publication of this article would justify a new attempt to revise the readings and to solve some of the remaining difficulties of this early document.

I regret that war conditions prevent me from having another look at the original, but, apart from the reduced photographs accompanying the articles of Hoernle and Margoliouth, I have had at my disposal a full-size photostat of the document which Dr. L. D. Barnett very kindly sent me in 1935.

[1] See Hoernle, "A report on the British collection of Antiquities from Central Asia," *J.A.S. Bengal*, lxx, part i, extra No. 1, pp. 26–8 (1898) with a good photograph.

The document is in a bad state of preservation. Its right edge is worn out and, what is worse, its left side is entirely gone, probably to the extent of a whole half page. Line 7 which should have contained the description of the third boundary of the land and the beginning of the fourth indicates how much of the text is missing. There are four holes within the text, the script is partly indistinct or smudged and the paper is stained with damp. This document together with another, which proved entirely illegible even with the aid of the quartz lamp of the British Museum, "formed crumbled up lumps of waste paper and required very careful unfolding and smoothing out" (Hoernle).

I give my own decipherment of the Persian text and my translation of it which differs considerably from the interpretation of Professor Margoliouth. [See the text on p. 189.]

(1) "In the name of God [Clement and Merciful].

(2) "This is the document that was written (and) became a deed (*sanad-i milk* ?) as between the followers [of Islam ?]. . . .

(3) ". . . Ḥusayn b. L.ngūkūhī. Now that I a plot of land for which there is documentary evidence and which is situated along (?) the canal of K(alā-Asiyā). . . .[1]

(4) ". . . on the boundary of the district of D.r.nkū. A plot [on which] five kharvārs of seed [can be sown] to Yaḥyā. . . .[2]

(5) "to (?) Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb I sold and received the full price. The land to . . .

(6) "And my hand has been withdrawn from this land and [it has gone] out of my property. [Its first boundary is]

(7) "the land of the seller; the second boundary is the canal of Kalā-Asbbā (*Āsiyā); the third [boundary . . . the fourth boundary . . .]

(8) "[the land] of Maḥmūd and Aḥmad. (On) all these four boundaries the Islamic sale is in due form and has become lawful (*ravā*)

(9) ". . . I excluded. It has become part of the rights (*amr-u farmān*) of property of Yaḥyā. Henceforth my children . . .

(10) ". . . should make opposition, it will all be lie and falsehood and will be null and . . .

(11) "has gone out and from the property of my relatives is

[1] Margoliouth: "Husain, son of Liko-Kongo, my maternal uncle, in the year 40 (of his age)."

[2] Margoliouth: "Almayah (?), a village in Nikatanj (?), part of the boundary of the land of. . . ."

gone out and from every point of view (literally 'from every door') . . .

(12) "should form a legal document. Dated the year 501 from the Flight of the Prophet, on whom be [peace].

(13) "Witness to it: Zakariyyā b. L.ngūkūhī (a double cross). Witness to it: Ḥusayn b. L.ngūqūhī.

(14) "Witness to it: Ya'qūb b. S.rkwā Subāshī (a cross). Witness to it 'Omar b. Qutlugh Subāshī.

(15) "Witness to it: Maḥmud b. Qutlugh Subāshī (a cross). Witness to it: Abū Bakr (?) b. Qutlugh Sub[āshī].

(16) "Witness to it: Yūnis (?) b. K.rā (a double square)."

The document is so mutilated that the complete text cannot be restored. The seller's name is apparently Ḥusayn b. Lingūkūhī and that of the buyer Yaḥyā b. Ya'qūb. The seller has received the full price for the land sold and, on behalf of his relatives, guarantees to the buyer unopposed possession of it. This may account for the fact that the two first signatures apparently belong to the brothers of the seller, namely Zakariyyā and Ḥasan, sons of L.ngūkūhī. The remaining signatures of three sons of Qutlugh, a son of S.rkwā and a son of K.rā (?) may represent the other interests involved. Maḥmūd b. Qutlugh is probably the neighbour mentioned in line 8.

The text describes the four boundaries of the land which on one side was adjacent to the vendor's remaining estate. The land lay in the rūstā of D.r.nkū (?) on the canal of Kalā-*Āsiyā. The extent of the area is expressed in the amount of grain which could be sown on it. Five *kharvārs* are equal to 3,350 lb., or 1½ tons approximately.

The main result of the new reading is that the document is one hundred years younger than was first supposed. The words which Professor Margoliouth took for *ba-tārīkh-i sāl-i chahārṣad-u-yak* must be read *ba-tārīkh-i sāl bar pānṣad-u-yak*. A comparison with line 8 shows that in line 12 it is impossible to read *chahār*. On the contrary the preposition *bar* is quite clear in the original and its use in such cases is well attested in older texts.

Niẓāmī, *Iskandar-nāma*, Rieu, Catalogue, ii, 571:

حهان بر دهم روز بود از ایار   نود در گذشته ز پانصد شمار

Niẓāmī, *Haft Paykar*, ed. Rypka, 302, dates his poem 14 Ramaḍan 593/31 July, 1197 :—

از پس پانصد و نود سه قران   کفتم این نامه را چون ناموران
روز بر چهارده ز ماه صیام   چار ساعت ز روز رفته تمام

the day of the month in both cases being preceded by *bar*.

In the chronogram on the death of Hulāgū Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī says:—

سال برششصد وسه شد یکشنبه
شب نوزدهم بود و ربیع الآخر

see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Quatremère, 416, where this very accurate editor committed a mistake by suggesting the unnecessary correction بد (*bud*) for بر (*bar*) [although the metre is disturbed !]

The History of Sīstān (compiled *circa* 445/1053, continued down to 725/1324), ed. Bahār, Tehran 1314/1935, p. 375 :—

وروز آذر سال بر چهارصد وبیست و چهار از یزدجرد

This *bar*, in combination with the year expressed in the Yazdijird era, has an archaic character.

In our document there is no mention of the ruling prince or of a religious authority. The year 501/1107–8 falls within the reign of the Qara-khanid ruler of the Kāshghar branch Nūr al-daula Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Sulaymān Arslan-khan who in 522 defeated the Qara-Khitay invaders.[1]

The great simplicity of our document points to its provincial and even barbaric origin. Its Islamic elements (*basmala, bay'-i musalmānān, shahida bi-dhālika*, etc.) are sparse. The seller speaks in the first person and the only formality to support his cession of rights is the signatures of the witnesses, although possibly the original document had some official endorsement on the left margin or on the back.

The names quoted in the deed are very interesting. As pointed out by Dr. Hoernle, at least some of the bearers of them may have been Muslims only in the first generation. L.ngūkūhī, father of Ḥusayn, Ḥasan, and Zakariyyā was possibly of Chinese origin.[2] Three other persons ('Omar, Maḥmūd, and Abū Bakr) were sons of Qutlugh sü-bashī, whose name and title are typically Turkish.

Su-bashī, or better *sü-bashi*, means " leader of an army ". It is a common title which occurs in nearly all the ancient documents

[1] Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 55, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 322.

[2] We can imagine some name like **Lin-kuo-k'wei* 林 國 魁. The Chinese scholars whom I have consulted admitted that the name sounds Chinese but abstained from making any definite suggestions.

from Yārkand. The real equivalent of the title would probably be "captain". Judging by the same title *sü-bashi*, S.rkwā, father of Ya'qūb was also a Turk and so was probably K.rā (?), father of Yūnis. I cannot explain the first name. The second is possibly *Girä(y)* "thin, lank".

The abundance of biblical names such as Zakariyyā, Ya'qūb, Yūnis is also typical for the community recently converted to Islam.[1]

For the provenance of our document we have to depend on the indication of the dealer. If in fact it was found near Khotan, the canton *D.r.ngū* and the canal *Kalā-*Āsiyā* should be sought in that direction. I failed to find them on Sir A. Stein's maps. Nothing can be said of the linguistic origin of *D.r.ngū*. Kalā-*Āsiyā is definitely an Iranian (Persian) name. *Kalāt*, *kalā*, *kilā*, etc., are found in many places of the Iranian world and even on its periphery. The word may be the original of the Arabic *qal'a*.[2] *Kalā-Āsiyā* would mean "the fortified mill" or "the mill attached to a fort"—which is a suitable name for a place situated on a canal.

The spellings of the document are archaic. Such are both کی and نبشته of the first line. The joint spelling of the kind of کزمین for که زمین is well attested in the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, f. 2_9, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 32_{21}, etc. In this case the *kāf* joined to the following word has a top hook instead of the usual stroke. *D* in the ligature *dr* (line 8) has no such hook. Of *alifs* joined leftwards some have similar top hooks (*az*, line 6; *-ast*, line 10), and some not (*īn*, line 6). It is difficult to place the script of the deed in any definite category of writing but probably *thulth* would be the nearest approach to characterize the highly cursive and professional hand of the scribe.

The method of expressing the *idāfat* is not quite clear. In *dast-i man* (line 6) the *idafat* has no special sign, but it is possible that in line 2 it is spelt out with a *y*: *ba-sanady milky mardumāny* [*Islām*].

Here are the explanations of the single points of my reading.

Line 2. The second half of the line is doubtful. Of the sixth word one can clearly distinguish the final *-dy* with one markaz before it.

[1] We can hardly suspect in them any trace of Christian (Nestorian) influence. No importance either can be attached to the crosses used by the illiterate witnesses instead of signatures.

[2] With a parasitic *'ayn*, cf. *la'l* for *lāl*, *ka'k* for *kāk*. C. F. Andreas explained the Arabic name of Erzerum *Qālyqalā* as a compound of the Armenian name of this place *Karin* (*Karnoy*, *Karnay*) + *kalā*, see M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, 1897, p. 145.

I take the smudge for the trace of a dot below the line and restore the whole as *ba-sanady*. The following word must be *milky* (rather than *māliky*). After *mardumāny* one should imagine some such word as *Islām* or *sharī'at*. The verb written above the line (under *basmala*) is apparently *gardīd* or *gardad* (*g*- being clear).

1. بسم الله [الرحمان الرحيم]
این خطست کی نبشته آمد بسندی(؟) ملکی(؟) مردمانی... گردید(؟)
حسین بن لنکوکوهی حال من کزمین خطی تالی جوی ک....
از(؟) پایهٔ روستای درنکو پنج خروار تخم زمین به یحی (sic)....
5. ... یحی بن ایوب را فروختم بهای تمام یافتم زمین به ه....
ودست من از این زمین کوتاه شد از ملک من بیرون آمد [حدّ اوّلش]..
زمین فروشنده حد دوم جوی کلا اسیبا (*آسیا) حد سیو[م]... حدّ چهار[م]
محمود واحمد همه(؟) این چهار حد مبیع مسلمانان به درستی ست روا(؟) شد
بیرون کردم از امر فرمان ملک یحی گردید پس از این فرزندان من(؟)....
10. خصومت کنند آن همه زور است و بهتانست و باطلست و....
بیرون آمد واز ملک خویشاوندان من بیرون آمد واز همه در...
حجت باشد تاریخ سال بر پانصد ویک از هجرة النبی علیه [السلام]
شهد بذلک زکریا بن لنکوکوهی ++ شهد بذلک حسن بن لنکوکوهی
شهد بذلک یعقوب بن سرکوا سباشی + شهد بذلک عمر بن قتلغ سبا[شی]
شهد بذلک محمود بن قتلغ سباشی + شهد بذلک ابوبکر(؟) بن قتلغ [سباشی]
شهد بذلک یونس بن کرا ⊟

FIG. 1.

Line 3. *Khaṭṭī* apparently means "based on a document", such as the present *khaṭṭ*. The reading *jūy* can be compared with line 7, the stroke between *w* and *y* being probably a smudge. If *jūy* is right, very probably it referred to the same canal of *Kalā-*Āsiyā* as below. I am not quite happy about the word *tālī* which means "the one following after, subsequent" whereas in this passage we have to take it in the meaning of "adjacent to, running along". However, the general meaning of the passage is clear. As a parallel

to our *tālī* the Arabic document published by Barthold uses the term *lazīq*: "the fourth boundary . . . is adjacent ('stuck') to a canal (*lazīq nahr*)."

L.nkūkūhī [1] is absolutely clear and the second *k* is supported by the alternate spelling *q* in line 13.

Line 4. I clearly distinguish *kharvār* which gives an excellent reading. *Bh-* (i.e. *ba-*) resembling a *tashdīd*, i.e. with *h* turned up from below, is paralleled in lines 5 and 8. For *Yaḥyā*, cf. lines 5 and 9.

Line 5. It looks almost certain that *Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb rā furūkhtam* means "I sold *to* Y. b. A.", but this use of *-rā*, if not irregular, is not quite expected in this sentence.

Line 6. In the first *az* the alif joined with *z* has a top hook, but this is not the case in *īn* and the second *az*. After *man* one should read *bīrūn* which must have been written as in lines 9, 11 (twice). One can distinguish of it only the stroke of *n* without its final flourish. *Āmad* at the end of the line is still visible.

Line 7. The spelling is *asbbā*, but one *markaz* is superfluous as the meaning is most certainly *āsiyā* "the mill".

Line 8. After *Aḥmad* there is a smudge: which I take for *hama*, as spelt in line 11. For the *tashdīd*-like *bh* this line is crucial. *Ravā* is suitable for the meaning although I cannot account for the second tail of *w*.

Line 9. To read *amr-u-farmān* we have to imagine a *ḍamma* over the *r* of *amr*, as a substitute for *wa*. The final *-yd* of *gardīd* is clear.

Line 10. *-ast* (after a consonant) is spelt with an *alif* represented by a top-hook, contrary to line 8 where (after a vowel) it is spelt *-st*. *Zūr* meaning "deceit" (rather than *zōr* "violence") is apparently treated as an Arabic term, see the document published by Barthold.

Line 11. The *alif superscriptum* is repeated twice above the ligature. In *hama* the final *h* is joined upwards and not downwards as in line 10.

Line 12. Of *hijra* *-jr-* is clear.

Lines 13-16. In all the witnesses' names *bn* is spelt as a simple, or double, flourish after the first name.

Line 15. The only sure element in the obliterated name of Qutlugh's second son is the top-stroke of a *k* in the middle of the name looking like *Bakr*. If so, the preceding group must be *Abū*, of which the *b* is joined with the final *k* of *dhalika*, and the *alif*

[1] Or *L.ngūkūhī* in accordance with Persian phonetics.

is written above the ligature as in *farzandān* (line 9). But the ligature is not quite clear!

Close parallels to our Persian deed from Khotan (?) are to be found in a lot of fifteen legal papers which were discovered in Yārkand in 1911 and are now in the keeping of the Director-General of Archaeology in India. The dates of the documents go from A.H. 474 (494 ?) to A.H. 529. Seven of the documents are in Arabic, five in Turkish written in Arabic script, and three in Turkish written in Uyghur character.[1] Barthold very successfully explained the implications of the important Arabic document dated 1 Dhul-Ḥijja 474 (or 494 ?)/2nd May, 1082 (or 27th September, 1101), which he published in Sir D. Ross's transcript and translation. The document records the name of the Qara-khanid ruler of Kāshghar Ḥasan Tafghāch khān, under whose son our Persian MS. from Khotan was drawn up. In spite of the difference of language and of the much more elaborate character of the Arabic document,[2] the latter gives some useful illustrations to our text. It uses the term *rustāq* for a subdivision of the *kūra* of Yārkanda (*sic*). One of the witnesses is 'Abd al-Jalīl Chaghrī *sū-bāshī*. To our expression *dast kūtāh kardam* corresponds *qaṣru yadihi* in Arabic. Our *panj kharvār tukhm zamīn* has a parallel in *arḍ farīda . . . wa-hya mabdhara thalathīn wiqr ḥinṭa* " a plot of land . . . which represents a sowing area for 30 ass-loads of wheat ".[3]

Still closer to our text is a much shorter and simpler land deed from the same collection, of which our late Director most kindly gave me a transcript.[4] This document, written in Arabic script and dated Rabī' ii 515/June, 1121, is in that Eastern Turkish which is loosely called "Uyghur". The edition of the text must be reserved till the time when the original, or a photograph of it is available. For the moment I give only the translation so far as it can be worked from the transcript (see Plate on p. 191).

[1] These details are borrowed from Sir D. Ross's postscript to Barthold's article "The Bughra khan mentioned in Qudatqu (read: Qutadghu) bilik", *BSOS.*, iii/1, 1923, pp. 151–8.

[2] Prepared under the auspices of the learned qāḍī of Yārkand, native of the great Islamic centre of Bukhara.

[3] Sir D. Ross read *mubaddhira* and translated " producing 30 ass-loads of wheat ", but this is contrary to the parallel texts in Turkish and to the estimation of land according to the amount of seed still practised in Central Asia.

[4] The copy is in a good Muslim hand but the copyist apparently did not understand Turkish. Under the text there is a Persian translation by Sir D. Ross's munshi who knew Eastern Turkish but did not know the meaning of older terms. I have also the original decipherment by Sir D. Ross, but it only partly covers the text.

"In the name of God, Clement, and Merciful.

"This is the (*ol*) document (*khaṭṭ*) at the end of which are mentioned the experts and witnesses (*bilik tanuq*). I, the son of Hasan Kh.jāch(i) Muḥammad Ḥājib have (*qïlduk*, plural) declared to the **sü-bashï*:

"I have sold a plot of land (*kisăk* 'a cut') the area of which is two (ass)-loads (*yük*), within its four boundaries, for 1,000 *yarmaqs*.

"The first boundary of this land is Bataq-arïq ('Marshy canal'); the second, the land of Mas'ūd Tughrïl sü-bashï, the third, the hill (*qash* 'brow'?) of Chimkāt, the fourth, the land of Kh.jāchi Ḥājib (called) Üzhmälik-bataq ('Mulberry grove marsh'). I have sold the land within these four boundaries and received its price in full (*tükäl*). I have delivered it (*usparladïm*) to Isrāfīl Chaulī sü-bashï. With this land, to whomever it should belong, there is no litigation or deceit (*dastān*). Whoever should start a litigation, 'his litigation is null' (it will be) said for the sake of truthfulness.

"In the year 515, which in Turkish (?) is the year of Nāk ('Dragon'),[1] in the month of Rabī' ii I have given this document in writing as a legal document (*ḥujjat*)."

(signature of): Muḥammad Ḥājib

I (*min*), 'Omar

I, 'Othmān

I, Nūbāshī (**sü-bashï*) am witness to this sale

I (*man*), Ghādīr (for Qadir ?), son of Dāshmand, am witness

I, Aḥmad Dāshmand, am witness.

This text supports our readings of the Khotan document and indicates the sense of its missing parts.

The word *yarmaq* means "money, coins". Maḥmūd Kāshghari, iii, 32, explains it as "a (silver) dirham". The old term *sü-bashï* was misunderstood by the Persian translator who took it for *su-bashi*, which he explained as *mīr-āb* "irrigation agent". The verb *üspār-la-dī* is undoubtedly connected with the Persian word *sipār-* "to entrust". In the Turkish dialect of the curious community of Abdāl which lives scattered in Chinese Turkestan there are many verbs derived from Persian: *khur-la* "to eat"; *bāchă-la-* "to be born"; *khap-la-* "to sleep", see Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, Jan.,

[1] The word بورتغا *burtgha* (?) standing before *nāk* cannot be right. I am inclined to read تورکجا *türk-jā* "in Turkish", in view of the word *bil-turkiyya* which introduces the Turkish *yond-yïlï* in an Arabic document of the same collection.

1907, pp. 115–139. The interesting feature of our *üspār-la-* is that it is derived from an archaic form **uspār-* (Middle Persian *avispār* > *ōspār*). The verb *üspār-la-* suggests an explanation for the common "Ottoman" Turkish *ïsmar-la-* "to entrust", which, as it now appears, is also derived from Persian *sipār/ispār* with a Turkish (?) alteration of *p* (*b*) into *m*. The term *dāshmand* in the witnesses' signatures must be derived from Persian *dānishmand* which in Mongolian took a still shorter form of *dashman*, see Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vos.*, i, 1925, p. 333.

NOTE

I owe to Dr. W. Henning a further confirmation of my reading on p. 193, note 1. A Turkish inscription in Chwolson, *Syrischnestor. Grabinschriften* has: *Aliksandros qan sayïš 1648 ärdi türkčä yïl ud* (i.e. A.D. 1337).

The Mongol Wars with Hsi Hsia (1205–27)

By H. DESMOND MARTIN

THERE can be few events in history so little known as Chinghiz Khan's wars with Hsi Hsia. Even in works dealing with the conqueror's life, one finds hardly more than a brief sketch of his conquest of this state. Doubtless this is due to the principal records extant on Hsi Hsia being written in Chinese. Many of these must include material originally drawn from Hsi Hsian documents, but to-day the latter are very rare, and until recently there was no one who could read them. Hence most of what has come down to us is from the pens of enemies, and even this is little known to students of Chinese or Mongol history. Yet in its day Hsi Hsia ranked among the great powers of Asia, and next to the empires of Chin and Khwarizm, was the strongest state overthrown by Chinghiz Khan.

During the first half of the seventh century when China was being reunited by the famous Li Shih-min (subsequently emperor T'ang T'ai Tsung), another great figure Srongtsan Ganpo, was carrying out the subjugation of Tibet. Pushing north from the valley of the Tsanpo, the Tibetan conqueror reached the Kuku Nor, where he came into collision with the Tukhuhun and a group of tribes known as the Tangut.[1] Both refused to recognize his suzerainty and opposed a fierce but unsuccessful resistance. At length, unable to continue the struggle, the Tukhuhun and a large number of the Tangut submitted, but others fled to China. There they were given an asylum by the T'ang (618–907) who settled them in the Ordos and along the mountainous border of North Shen-hsi. Employed by the Imperial government as cavalry, they proved invaluable soldiers and faithfully served the dynasty until its fall.

Throughout the succeeding period of " The Five Short Dynasties ", the Tangut made no overt attempts to assert their independence, but after the rise of the Sung (960–1281) there was a revolt under Li Chi-ch'ien or Chao Pao-chi (9 –1008) who established the kingdom of Hsi Hsia. Under this prince and Chao Yuan-hao (1031–1048), greatest of the Tangut rulers, Hsi Hsia extended

[1] The Tangut were akin to the Tibetans, but the Tukhuhun were of Turko-Mongol stock and had arrived in the Kuku Nor during the third century when they established a considerable dominion.

its power over Ning-hsia, the Ordos, and all but the most easterly and southerly parts of Kan-su. Northward they became masters of the Etsin Gol and adjoining stretches of Gobi, and on the south controlled the ranges of the Nan Shan. Having an advantageous geographical position, and resorting to force or diplomacy as the circumstances demanded, they held their own against all comers until the advent of Chinghiz Khan.

To the south and east Hsi Hsia was bounded by the empire of Chin, on the west by Qara Khitay and on the north by the dominions of Chinghiz Khan. Within this area dwelt a mixed population of Tangut, Tibetan, Shara Uigurs, and Chinese, the last collected in the valley of the Huang Ho and the towns of Kan-su. The economic life of Hsi Hsia was divided between agriculture, trade, and pastoralism. Lying as it did athwart the trade routes passing west from China through the Tarim basin, it also drew considerable profits from taxes levied on itinerant caravans.

In the days of Chao Yuan-hao (1031–1048) and his immediate successors, the Tangut were frequently at war with Sung, Khitan, and Tibetan, but after 1165, when the Chin (1113–1234) were firmly established as the paramount power of Eastern Asia, an era of comparative peace set in.[1]

Beyond the desert the nearest neighbours of Hsi Hsia were the Naiman and Kerait, and with them relations were alternately hostile and friendly. It was during a period of peace with the latter that the Mongols made their fateful appearance.

1203 In the year 1203 Chinghiz Khan inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Kerait. Forced to flee, Toghrul the Wang Khan made for the Naiman frontier, but on it was seized and slain by a local officer. His son Süngun chose a different route, and riding south over the Gobi, sought refuge in Hsi Hsia. Thither he was hotly pursued by Yeh-lü Aqai, a Khitan officer in Mongol service,[2] but escaped to find a temporary retreat in the Etsin Gol country. Though he did not remain there long, but continued his way to Tsaidam, the fact that the Tangut had allowed him to enter their dominions was in the

[1] For the relations of the Tangut with their neighbours, see Cordier's *Histoire Générale de la Chine et des relations avec les pays étrangers*, vol. ii, and René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*.

[2] Yeh-lü A-hai (Aqai) was a member of the Khitan royal clan, and like his brother Yeh-lü T'u-hua (Tuqa), had originally been sent by the Chin to reside at the Kerait court. There both frequently met Chinghiz Khan, and on war breaking out between him and the Wang Khan, they sided with the Mongol in whose service they remained (*Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Yeh-lü A-hai (Aqai)).

eyes of the Mongol Khan an act of hostility and provided a pretext for war as soon as he should want one.[1]

After he had completed the unification of the nomads of the north it was inevitable, that like his predecessors, Chinghiz Khan would be drawn south after booty and glory. But besides such incentives there was an important political reason for war. Neither the Tangut nor the Jürchät, founders of the Chin dynasty (1113–1234), could feel safe with the powerful and militant Mongol state at their doorstep. Sooner or later, one or both could be counted upon to intervene on the outbreak of any serious internal or external trouble that might beset the new empire.

Aware of this Chinghiz Khan resolved to strike while free from such embarrassments. Of the two states that of Chin was far the stronger. Possessed of the second key economic area of China—(Ho-nan and Southern Shen-hsi)—and having the largest and best organized army of any civilized state in Asia, it was considered the greatest military power of its day. Up to that time the Mongols had never faced the kind of armies that they would be called upon to meet once the invasion of China began. So Chinghiz Khan wisely decided to make the first assault against the less powerful Tangut. Even then his opening moves were no more than feelers to test enemy strength and whet the appetite of his troops for plunder.

Early in the year 1205 he was operating in the Altai against Buyuruq the Naiman, and having surprised and slain the chief, he sent Yeh-lü Aqai, and another officer south to make a raid into Hsi Hsia.[2] In April the two generals crossed the Tangut frontier, and after taking Li-chi-li Chai and Ch'i-lin-ku-sa Ch'êng, ravaged the departments of Kua Chou and Sha Chou. The next month, May, they captured Lo-ssŭ Ch'êng, but before the hot weather, returned north with their loot—principally captives and camels.

Probably Li-chi-li Chai, Ch'i-lin-ku-sa Ch'êng and Lo-ssŭ Ch'êng approximated to the present towns of Mao-mu and Chin T'a on the Etsin Gol. The reference to Kua Chou would indicate that the Mongols marched up the Etsin Gol until ready to swing west to the Shu-lo Ho. One may therefore assume that this first inroad was confined to the most westerly part of Hsi Hsia.

[1] Subsequently, Sängun fled to Kucha where his depredations finally resulted in his execution by the local authorities. (See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes.*)

[2] The name of the other Mongol general as given by the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* is Chieh-ku-li-t'u. For the first expedition against the Tangut see the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, the *Hsi Hsia Chi*, and the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*.

Not once throughout the incursion did the garrisons of Kua Chou and Sha Chou or the field forces of the Tangut ruler Li Ch'un-yü (1194–1206) challenge the Mongols in the open. But in June or July all places destroyed by the Mongols were repaired and in December an army was ordered to make a counter raid. It marched north, but returned without fighting.

207 Two years later Chinghiz Khan organized another expedition and in September despatched a force to the present Ala Shan region. There the town of Wu-la-hai Ch'êng was taken and the winter spent in plundering the surrounding country.[1] The following year supplies began to run short and reports came in that the new Tangut ruler Li An-ch'uan (1206–1211) was assembling troops. The numbers of these made them so formidable that the Mongols 208 decided to retire and in February or March, 1208, withdrew to the north.

This second inroad was much more of an undertaking than that of 1205. Not only had it led the Mongols into the heart of Hsi Hsia, but the road thither was long and difficult. From a reference in the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* to the campaign of 1209, which must have followed the same route, one gathers that the invaders went from the Tola to the Onghin Göl, and then south to the Gurban Saikhan Ula. Thence they must have gone south-east until within sight of the Hei Shan (Qara Narin Ula), and continuing in a southerly direction, have passed along the eastern side of the Dabsun Nor and on to Wu-la-hai Ch'êng.[2]

From the Tola to Wu-la-hai Ch'êng the distance covered was at least 650 miles. Of this some 450 miles is Gobi, which in many stretches provides a limited amount of grazing, but the last 200 miles is largely sand. Over this the Mongols must have travelled as fast as possible.

Up to the Gurban Shaikhan, and somewhat east, advance depots of livestock (sheep) for food were probably established,

[1] The *Hsi Hsia Chi* calls the country Ho-hsi (west of the river) which was the general name applied by the Chinese to the region lying west of the Huang Ho. The Mongols called it Kashi. Wu-la-hai Ch'êng was located near the present Ting-yuan ying.

[2] See map. The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* says that in the third month (6th April to 6th May) of 1209, Chinghiz Khan moved his army to the country north of Hei-shui Ch'êng, i.e. to the territory of the Onghin Göl and Gurban Saikhan Ula, and from there marched southward through Ho-hsi to Wu-la-hai Ch'êng. In A. Hermann's *Atlas of China* there is a map of the dominions of the Sung, Liao, Chin, and Tangut dynasties which shows a route running from the Onghin towards the Hei Shan and thence to Ala Shan. To-day this still exists, so I have assumed that the Mongol invasions of 1207 and 1209 followed it.

but from there on the troops would depend on what they could carry.

Once the vicinity of Wu-la-hai Ch'êng was reached, they were in a region of comparative plenty and doubtless sent out raiding parties to drive in sheep from the Ho-lan Shan (or the present Ala Shan).

Regarding this raid and its predecessor, most works say that Chinghiz Khan himself was with the armies. However, since it was not until 1208 that the Naiman and Märkit forces of Küchlüg and Toqto'a Bäki were defeated, it is unlikely that he went south so early. But after his victory over them at Boukhdourma on the Qara Irtish, he became undisputed master of Outer Mongolia, and in 1209 prepared to lead an expedition in person against Hsi Hsia. 1209

That year there had come to his camp two Chin rebels, Li T'sao and T'ien Kuang-ming, who urged him to attack the Chin empire. In 1208 four Chin officers, who had been punished by the emperor, had fled to him with their families, and made a similar request, and earlier still in 1206, Ta-Pien the Ai Wang of Chin had invited him to aid a revolt in Liao-Tung. At last he could throw the whole weight of the nomads of the north against the Chin empire and resolved upon the war. But before going against so formidable an enemy he had to cripple the Tangut sufficiently to prevent any attack on his flank.[1]

The force that now took the field against Hsi Hsia was a powerful army. Its exact strength we do not know, but since Chinghiz Khan was able to meet every host the Tangut sent against him, it must have been considerable. In the days of Chao Yuan hao (1031–1048) the regular troops of Hsi Hsia numbered 158,000, and there is no reason to suppose that they were fewer in 1209.[2]

The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* intimates that in April[3] or the beginning of May Chinghiz Khan moved his troops into the country of the

[1] Hsi Hsia was nominally tributary to the Chin, but the relationship had little effect on Tangut policy.

[2] The forces of Chao Yuan-hao (1031–1048) were distributed as follows: 7,000 troops held the northern frontier, 13,000 protected the capital and the towns of the Ho-lan Shan, 30,000 were posted on the Kan Chou and Yü-hsiang front to oppose the T'u-fan (Tibetans) and Hui-ho (Uigurs of the T'ien Shan), 100,000 were cantoned along the Hsi Hsia–Sung border, and 8,000, including 3,000 cuirassiers, composed the Imperial Guard. (See Cordier, *Histoire Général de La Chine et des ses relations avec les pays étrangers*, vol. ii.)

[3] Certain works declared that the invasion began in the autumn of 1210, but since Chinghiz Khan set out against the Chin during the spring of 1211, the date April, 1209 (see the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, *Hsi Hsia Chi Shih Pên-mo*, and the *Yüan-Shih*) is far more likely to be correct.

Onghin Göl and Gorban Saikhan Ula. From there he advanced through Ho-hsi towards Wu-la-hai Ch'êng, supposedly by the route already described.

As soon as Li An-ch'uan (1206–1211) learned that the Mongols were approaching Wu-la-hai, he ordered 50,000 men under his son Li Ch'ên-chên and the general Kao Liang-hui to hold them up.[1] Marching north they encountered the invader somewhere beyond the town, only to be disastrously beaten, and though the prince escaped, Kao Liang-hui was captured and put to death on refusing to bow before Chinghiz Khan. The Mongols then pushed on to Wu-la-hai. In May they carried it by storm, and while fighting in the streets, captured the commander and imperial tutor Hsien-pei U-Ta.[2]

Their next move was to advance over the Ho-lan Shan (Ala Shan) to attack the capital Chung-hsing. As to-day, there was only one road for troops across the range and this was commanded by the fortress of K'ê-i Mên.

From the outset of the war Li An-ch'uan had stationed seventy thousand men to guard the post, but hearing of Li Ch'ên-chên's defeat, he sent a further fifty thousand men under Wei-ming Ling-Kung, who took command of both forces. With these he awaited the arrival of Chinghiz Khan, who appeared soon after the capture of Wu-la-hai. Confident in the number of his troops, Wei-ming Ling-Kung launched a furious attack down the mountain slopes and forced the Mongols to retire. But, either because his losses had been heavy or his victory was won over only a part of the invading army, he returned to his position and remained on the defensive.

For two months Chinghiz Khan waited for him to make another attack. Then early in August he decided to try and lure him into the open. Accordingly, he struck camp as if departing, and leaving a detachment to simulate a rearguard, placed the rest of his men in ambush. Wei-ming Ling-Kung was completely deceived, and

[1] The *Hsi Hsia Chi* and the *Yüan Shih* say that the prince commanding the Tangut army was the heir apparent, but give no name. T'u Chi in the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* calls him Li Tsun-hsiang and states that he was the nephew of Li An-Ch'uan, whom he succeeded in 1211. The General with him is usually named Kao Ling-kung, but T'u Chi says that it should be Kao Liang-hui.

[2] This is T'u Chi's rendering of the name: the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* calls him Hsi Pi-shih. Through the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* T'u Chi makes a point of correcting what he believes to be wrong names, so in this respect he has here been followed in preference to other sources.

descending on to the plain to crush a small force suddenly found himself face to face with the entire Mongol army. Compelled to give battle, he suffered a crushing defeat and was taken prisoner.

Pressing on from the battlefield, the victorious Mongols arrived before K'ê-i Mên, which must have surrendered almost immediately, for no mention is made of any resistance. The way now lay open to the capital, and crossing the mountains without loss of time, Chinghiz Khan pitched his camp at Po (Pai) Wang Miao (the ancestral temple of the Tangut kings) and began the siege.

Chung-hsing stood in the key economic area of Hsi Hsia, and like the present town of Ning-hsia, depended on a system of irrigation canals. It was therefore not an easy place to take and could be expected to oppose a desperate resistance.

The enemy at his gates, Li An-chuan took personal command and directed the defence with such energy that by the end of October the Mongols had not gained a single foothold on the walls. But there then occurred a catastrophe that nearly brought the capital to its knees. Seeing that the autumnal rains had swollen the Huang Ho, Chinghiz Khan ordered the construction of a great dyke to turn the river into the city, and the waters entering Chung-hsing, took a fearful toll of life and property.

Faced with this predicament, Li An-Ch'uan sent in November to beg the Chin for help. Many Chin ministers and high officers urged that troops be dispatched to break the leaguer, for they pointed out that the conquest of Hsi Hsia would certainly be followed by an attack upon their empire. But the new emperor Yüng-chi (1209–1213) regarded both contestants as enemies and turned a deaf ear to the Tangut cry for succour. The siege dragged on until January, 1210, when the walls of the city were on the point of collapse. Then suddenly the pent up waters of the river burst their outer dykes, and spreading over the surrounding plain, forced the Mongols to retire to higher ground.[1]

How much damage the Mongol camp sustained is not said, but great or small, Chinghiz Khan was undismayed. Despite his failure to take Chung-hsing, he evidently felt that the rigours of the investment would make Li An-ch'uan come to terms, for he sent his prisoner Hsien-pei U-Ta to negotiate.

Conditions within the city were far too serious to risk revealing

[1] Hyacinth, quoting from the edition of the *Yüan Shih* used by him, says that the Tangut broke the dykes. (d'Ohsson.)

them to the enemy. When Li-ch'uan was informed that the embassy was approaching, he came out on the walls, and seeing U-Ta on the other side of the water, informed him that he would not be allowed to enter.[1] Notwithstanding this, peace was made, and giving Chinghiz Khan one of his daughters in marriage, the Tangut ruler sent the following message: "Having heard of thy glory (power), we were greatly afraid, but now we will be your right hand (vassal) and serve you faithfully and supply you with the products of our realm—camels, woollen cloth, and falcons." "He then collected so many camels that it was with difficulty they were brought to Chinghiz Khan."[2] Content with this the conqueror withdrew to the north, but not until April (1210) did he set free Wei-ming Ling-Kung.

Chinghiz Khan thus successfully concluded his first major expedition against a civilized state. Opposed to him had been a powerful army whose total forces in the field numbered one hundred and seventy thousand men. Doubtless some of these were levies, but a large percentage must have been regular troops.

In the first clash with the enemy to the north of Wu-la-hai, the Mongols were probably numerically superior, but in the second battle their army was much the smaller. By 1209 the effective force of the Mongols did not exceed one hundred and thirty-eight thousand, and with an attack by the Chin always a possibility, Chinghiz Khan can hardly have invaded Hsi Hsia with more than half his army. Yet he carried all before him, and though unable to capture Chung-hsing, had forced the Tangut ruler to become his vassal. Having dealt Hsi Hsia such a blow Chinghiz Khan could safely march against the Chin with the greater part of his troops.

Barely had the Mongols departed when the Tangut, enraged with Yüng-chi for having left them in the lurch, made a raid over the Chin border and in September plundered Chia Chou on the Huang Ho. This brought to an end a peace that had lasted since 1165. Without great territorial gains or losses to either side, hostilities continued until 1225 when the two joined in a belated alliance against the Mongols.

Not for five years after Chinghiz Khan's withdrawal did the

[1] Only in the *Hsi Hsia Chi* does one learn these details concerning the manner in which negotiations were carried on.

[2] See the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, translated by Paladius.

Tangut play a rôle in Mongol history.[1] During that time the Mongols defeated the most powerful armies of the Chin, took their capital Chung Tu (the modern Pei Ping), and severely damaged their power everywhere north of the Huang Ho. So, during July, 1215, when Chinghiz Khan was camped at Yü-erh-lo (now Dalai Nor in Chakhar) he organized three small armies to go south and test remaining Chin resistance.[2] 1215

The only one of these armies that concerns us is a force of ten thousand Mongols led by the General Samuqa. This force Chinghiz Khan directed to march through the Ordos for an attack on Shen-hsi.[3] Since the Ordos belonged to Hsi Hsia, Chinghiz Khan called upon Li Tsun-hsiang (1211–1223), Li An-ch'uan's nephew and successor, to honour his uncle's oath of fealty and give the army right of way. At the same time he demanded that thirty thousand men be sent to join the expedition. Afraid to incur the conqueror's wrath Li Tsun-hsiang complied with both requests.[4]

It was not until September, 1216, that finally Samuqa set out, and crossing the Huang Ho, supposedly at Tung-shêng (see map), went over the Ordos into Shen-hsi.[5] In October he was before Yen-an and was there joined by the Tangut. One cannot here go into detail, but Samuqa and his allies advanced south through 1216

[1] In 1210 or 1211 the Tangut are reported to have clashed with a certain Pai-ssŭ-p'o, who is spoken of as being a powerful chief of the Hei T'a-T'a. According to the narrative Li An-ch'uan took the field against the invader but was defeated and only obtained peace at the price of one of his daughters and acknowledgment of Pai-ssŭ-p'o's suzerainty.

Usually the term Hei T'a-T'a (black or uncivilized T'a-T'a) was used to designate the tribes of Outer Mongolia as opposed to the Pai T'a-T'a (white or civilized T'a-T'a) of Inner Mongolia. But Wu Kuang-ch'eng, author of the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, says that here the Hsi-fan or Tibetans are intended. While one might expect the Tibetans to have taken advantage of Hsi Hsia's weakened condition to make such an attack, the account of it is very reminiscent of Chinghiz Khan's inroad of 1209–1210. Therefore, either the story of Li An-ch'uan's surrender of his daughter and agreement to become Pai-ssŭ-p'o's vassal has been added by mistake or the whole thing is a garbled version of the Mongol invasion.

(The *Hsi Hsia Chi Shih Pen-mo* dates the event in November and December, 1210; the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* and the *Hsi Hsia Chi* in April and May, 1211.)

[2] Though Chinghiz Khan returned north to the river Kerulen during the autumn of 1215, the dispatch of these three forces would indicate that he was feeling out the situation prior to resuming the war on a grand scale. Fortunately for the Chin, hostilities with various tribes in the north, with the Tangut, the remnants of the Märkit, and with Küchlüg the Naiman, kept Chinghiz Khan occupied until 1218. After that war broke out with the Empire of Khwarizm and all thought of a major attack had to be postponed. Instead, the continuation of the struggle was left to Muqali and a comparatively small force.

[3] The *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* says through T'ang-wu-T'i, i.e. the country of the Tangut, and in this instance the region involved was certainly the Ordos.

[4] See the *Yüan Shih*, the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, and the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*.

[5] The lapse of time between the initial organization of the expedition and its start must have been due to the necessity of giving the Tangut time to prepare.

Eastern Shen-hsi, crossed the Wei Ho, seized T'ung Kuan, and proceeding east, got within seven miles of K'ai-fêng. The new capital, however, was too strong to attack, and in December Samuqa retired to the Huang Ho, which was crossed on the ice 1217 early in January, 1217. Over the other side the army marched north to P'ing-yang, but after a short siege was forced to retire. The Mongols continued northward, while the Tangut went west over the Huang Ho into Shen-hsi and back home.[1]

Apparently no great time afterwards the Mongols again called for troops. But the foregoing campaign had been a heavy drain

[1] Since this campaign was so remarkable, a word about it in the form of a note will not be out of place. Samuqa probably concentrated his ten thousand Mongols at Ching Chou or Feng Chou, as either would be suitable points of departure for an army about to enter the Ordos via Tung-shêng. From the Huang Ho to Yen-an, one can only guess his line of march, but perhaps he crossed the Ordos to Yin Chou, and then as Muqali, in 1221, marched by way of Sui-Tê and K'ê-jung Chai to Yen-an. Whether the town was taken is not said, but the same month, October, he and his Tangut allies made an unsuccessful attempt on Fang Chou. Then, marching via Yao Chou and T'ung Chou, they crossed the Wei Ho in November—*possibly to the north of Hua Chou—and defeated and slew the commander of* Ching Chao (Hsi-an) who tried to bar the road east to T'ung Kuan.

After an initial failure to seize the famous defile they took it by making a detour through Chin-k'eng and surprised it from the mountains to the south. Thence Samuqa hurried down the river to Yao Kuan and learned that three Chin armies were closing in on him. One had been ordered to hold him up on the south bank, another, fifteen thousand strong, was rushing from Shang-Tang (Lu-an) and Meng Chou to retake T'ung Kuan and garrison Shen Chou, and a third in the south was hastening from Lu Shih and Shang Chou to Ling pao. Not waiting to be trapped, he swept on to Mien Chou, and presumably crossing the Lo Ho to the east of Lo-yang, made a forced march over the Sung Shan to Ju Chou. Hot on his heels pressed the army ordered to Ling pao, but despite mountain tracks so rough that they had to be reinforced by the spears of his soldiers, he reached Ju Chou and captured it before the pursuers could come up. From Ju Chou he advanced north-east to Hsing-hua-ying, a small town no more than twenty li (6 miles) west of K'ai-fêng, and though the capital was too strong to attack, his troops ravaged the surrounding country at will.

In December Samuqa decided to retire—the Chin would be massing against him—and very likely returned by the easier road along the south bank of the Huang Ho. At first he encountered no opposition, but at Mien Chou was forced to give battle. However, he defeated the enemy, took the town, and marching via Shen Chou to the San-men-chi ford, crossed the Huang Ho on the ice early in January, 1217. (The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* says that the month was February.)

Over the river he moved north and soon arrived at P'ing-yang. But Hsu Ting, the commander of South Shan-hsi, expecting that Samuqa would do this, had warned the commanders of Chiang Chou, Chieh Chou, Hsi Chou, Chi Chou, and Mêng Chou to be on the alert. He now gave orders for them to converge on P'ing-yang, and after sustaining considerable losses, the invaders were forced to raise the siege. Samuqa and the Mongols continued their way north, while the Tangut went west to Hsi Hsia. The route taken by the latter is largely a matter of conjecture, but presumably they marched down the Fên Ho and crossed the Huang Ho by the Ho-chin ford. Eventually they reached the Huan Ho in East Kan-su, for the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* states that they went by Ning Chou, where they were attacked by the commander of Ch'ing-yang. (See the *Yüan Shih*, the *Hsin Yüan Shih*, the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*, the *T'ung-chien Kang-mu*, the *Chin-Shih* (main text)—and the biographies of Hsü Ting and Wan-yen Chung-yüan.)

on Hsi Hsia, who was also fighting the Chin on its own account. Consequently the people obliged Li Tsun-hsiang to refuse and made him throw off the Mongol yoke. This aroused Chinghiz Khan to fresh activity and an army was mobilized and sent to bring the Tangut to obedience.[1]

By January, 1218, according to other authorites, February, 1218, the Mongols had crossed the Huang Ho and again laid siege to Chung-hsing. Mindful of the last investment, Li Tsun-hsiang left the city in time, and placing command of it in the hands of his son Li Tê-wang, fled to Hsi-liang (present Liang Chou in Kan-su). From there he negotiated with the Mongols, and agreeing to resume his allegiance, obtained their withdrawal (the date is unrecorded).

1218

We do not know the Mongol line of march, but as Chung-hsing stood on the western side of the river and one is told that the army crossed, it seems that the invaders came from the east.[2] Hence one may assume that they marched over the Ordos. Their crossing of the river on both sides of the great loop was doubtless done on the ice. Had the campaign been undertaken earlier, when the Huang Ho was still open, the Tangut could have made it well nigh impossible for the Mongols to approach the city.

Scarcely had this campaign been concluded than there occurred an event which was to bring the Mongol conquest to the other half of Asia. Early that year (1218) Chinghiz Khan had dispatched an embassy to Muhammad Shah of Khwarizm, and with it a large trade caravan. Travelling faster than the caravan the envoy reached the Khwarizmian Court and was on his way back while

[1] All works, except the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, say that the army was led by Chinghiz Khan, but in view of recent disturbances in the north and west, it is more likely that he sent it under the command of someone else.

The *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, like the *Hsin Yüan Shih*, declares that the expedition was made because Hsi Hsia refused to provide troops for the war against the Khwarizm Shah. The *Yüan Shih Hsien-pien*, on its part, affirms that the siege of Chung-hsing was raised on promise that men would be sent, but says that when they were called for, A'sha Kan-po (Asha Ganbo) persuaded the Tangut ruler not to contribute any.

From Barthold's *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* one learns that the Mongol embassy to Muhammad Shah did not reach the west until the spring of 1218. It was only after this had returned eastward that the caravan sent out at the same time arrived at Otrar where it was destroyed. Though no date is given for the withdrawal of the Mongols from before Chung-hsing, one gathers that this took place early in 1218. It is therefore likely that they had retired before the catastrophe of Otrar occurred. Certainly the expedition had begun prior to it. Without doubt the renewal of Li Tsun-hsiang's oath of allegiance included a promise of military aid, but there is no need to suppose that any specific mention was made to service against the Khwarizm Shah.

[2] It is from the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* that one learns that the river was crossed; the *Yüan Shih*, etc., simply say that the Mongols besieged Chung-hsing.

the merchants were still on the road. These eventually arrived at Otrar on the Syr Darya, but there their journey was brought to a sudden and bloody end. Convinced probably rightly that the traders were spies Inaljuk, the city commander, communicated his suspicions to Muhammad and asked what he should do. Already piqued at the language of Chinghiz Khan's message to him the Shah either gave an outright order for the murder of the suspects or left it to the commander to do as he thought fit. Free to follow his inclinations Inaljuk slew every man in the caravan and confiscated their goods. No sooner was word of this brought to Chinghiz Khan than he sent an ambassador to demand that the commander be given up to him for punishment. Furious at this insult to his authority Muhammad put to death the envoy and shaved the beards of his entourage. Such a challenge could receive but one answer—war. Preparations were set on foot for the assembly of a great army, and all the conqueror's vassals were ordered to supply troops. The most powerful of these was Hsi Hsia and in 1219 Chinghiz Khan sent a representative to Chung-hsing to make known his wishes.[1]

"You have promised to be my right hand. Now the Moslems have murdered my ambassadors and I go to demand satisfaction of them. You shall be my right hand." Such was the Mongol envoy's message. Li Tsun-hsiang was about to answer, but before he could utter a word Asha Ganbo,[2] one of the leading Tangut nobles, retorted: "If your forces are not sufficient you need not be emperor." The Tangut king, impressed by this reply, refused to contribute any troops. Informed of this insolence Chinghiz Khan was greatly enraged and exclaimed: "How dared Asha Ganbo speak such words! It would be easy for me to send my army against them at once instead of Khwarizm. But I will not now alter my plans, but if heaven helps and preserves me, I will march against them on my return." [3]

[1] For a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the outbreak of war between the Mongols and the Shah of Khwarizm; see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion.*

[2] From a subsequent reference to Asha Ganbo, it would seem that he was one and the same with Wei-ming Ling-Kung, Asha Ganbo being his Tibetan title and the other his Chinese.

[3] This account is from the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, which was written in 1240. In the *Altan Tobchi*, written 1604, the event is related as follows: "Thereafter the Holy Ruler (Chinghiz Khan) sent to Siduryu (the Tangut ruler), saying, 'I am going against Sartagul (Khwarizm); keep thy promise and come with me.' But Siduryu replied: 'He (Chinghiz) calls himself Hayan (Khakan) while not yet ruler of all; why should a Hayan need a companion!' With these words he refused to help. When the Holy Ruler received this answer he became very wrath

The Tangut knew that Chinghiz Khan, committed to hostilities in the west, could not attack them for some time at least. Also they probably thought that war against so distant and powerful an opponent as the Shah of Khwarizm would prove the Mongol conqueror's undoing. Nevertheless, they did nothing further to provoke him and waited to see what would happen.

1221

During the next two years the reports that must have reached them were alarming. Chinghiz Khan had shattered the power of Khwarizm, while to the east his general Muqali had driven the Chin from almost every region north of the Huang Ho except southern Shan-hsi.

From the diary of the Taoist sage Ch'ang Ch'un, one learns that on 27th October, 1221, the holy man and his party met a Tangut envoy returning from Chinghiz Khan. After hearing of the conquest of Transoxiana (1220), Li Tsun-hsiang must have decided to attempt a reconciliation with the Mongols, for his representative said that he had left the conqueror on 1st August, 1221, i.e. after the Khan had moved south into Tokharistan. Chinghiz Khan's response is unrecorded, but earlier in the summer Muqali had evidently been informed of Hsi Hsia's change of heart, for during July [1] he had sought permission to cross the Ordos for an attack on Shen-hsi. The wording of his request has not come down to us, but Li Tsun-hsiang saw in it an opportunity to restore relations with the Mongols. Permission was immediately granted and during October Muqal, passed the Huang Ho at Tung-shêng.

In 1217 Chinghiz Khan had left the general with 13,000 Mongols, 10,000 Öngüt, and perhaps 20,000 to 30,000 Khitan, Jürchät and Chinese. The army with which he now crossed the river was probably about the same strength, i.e. 40,000 to 50,000 strong.[2]

Proceeding south he was met by a minister of Li Tsun-hsiang,

and vowed: 'Even should I lose my life, I will not leave Siduryu unpunished." (See Haenisch, *The Last Campaigns and Death of Chinghiz Khan According to Eastern Asiatic Sources*, Asia Major, 1933.)

Siduryu, which Haenisch says means Loyal or Faithful, was the title given by Chinghiz Khan to Li Hsien (1226–7), the last Tangut king, not to Li Tsun-hsiang (1211–1223).

[1] The month is by no means certain, but the *Hsi Hsia Chi* would imply that it was July.

[2] The forces given Muqali in 1217 are listed by the *Yüan shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-li*, which enumerates the 13,000 Mongols, tribe by tribe. Besides the army with which he invaded Shen-hsi, one estimates that Muqali also had at his disposal 70,000 or more troops, principally Chinese, to garrison Ho-pei, Shan-tung, and the conquered districts of Shan-hsi. For information on these see the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, biographies of Shih-mo Ming-an, Shih Tien-ni, Chang Jo, and Yen Shih.

who had come to announce the arrival of 50,000 Tangut troops sent to assist in the invasion. These appeared shortly afterwards under T'a-hai Kan-po (Ganpo), and Muqali moved to invest Chia Chou.

As it does not lie within the scope of this article to describe Muqali's campaign in full, only those operations in which the Tangut participated will be touched upon. From these it is plain that they were unwilling helpers of the Mongols.

Notwithstanding the reinforcements just received, Muqali demanded still more troops, and in November, 1221, Shu-p'u or Mi-p'u joined him at Sui-Tê with another army. Learning that he was expected to pay Muqali the same homage that he would Li Tsun-hsiang, the Tangut general refused and left on a separate expedition to An-sai.

Unfortunately for him the outcome was disastrous. Informed of his intention Wan-yen Ho-ta and Na-ho-mai-chu, the Chin commanders of Yen-an, dispatched an army to relieve the place. Making a forced march through the night this suddenly fell upon the Tangut, who were badly beaten and obliged to retreat in haste. Their way lying over the mountains many were killed falling from precipices, but the survivors finally reached the Mongol camp. Mi-p'u now did homage to Muqali and marched with him against Yen-an. But despite a signal victory in the field the city defied all their efforts, so leaving a blockading force before it, they advanced down the Lo Ho where their arms were more fortunate.

In December (1221) the last smouldering remains of Chin resistance in Shan-hsi called Muqali east and it was nearly a year before he returned to Shen-hsi. Then in December, 1222, he repassed the Huang Ho, and having taken T'ung Chou and P'u Ch'êng, dispatched his ablest lieutenant Möngü Bukha up the Wei Ho to besiege Fêng-hsiang while he himself crossed the river to invest Ching-chao (Hsi-an). The city he found defended by Wan-yen Ho-ta and a force reputed to have numbered 200,000. This is doubtless a vast exaggeration and 100,000 or less would be much nearer the truth. Even so Wan-yen Ho-ta's troops must have exceeded those of Muqali. His failure to give battle indicates that many of his men cannot have been thoroughly trained and above all that he suffered from a shortage of cavalry. A few years before Ao-tun Ch'o Ho-shêng, the last Chin commander of P'ing-yang, had insisted that these two handicaps, and not Mongol invincibility, were chiefly

1222

responsible for Chin reverses. But with the loss, first of Inner Mongolia and then of Manchuria, the Chin were bereft of their principal source of supply for horses and had mainly to depend upon the Lin T'ao area in the west. Though at such a disadvantage in the open they were still formidable behind walls, and Muqali, realizing that he could not take Ching-chao by force, resolved upon a blockade. He therefore stationed 6,000 men outside to keep the defenders occupied and sent 3,000 others to cut off communication with T'ung Kuan. Then at the head of his remaining troops he recrossed the Wei, and going north-west into the valley of the Ching Ho, set about the reduction of Ch'ien Chou, Ching Chou, Pin Chou, and Yüan Chou. By January, 1223, all had fallen, thus completely cutting off Ching-chao from outside help, and he marched to join Möngü Bukha at Fêng-hsiang.[1] 1223

Earlier, perhaps before he even crossed the Huang Ho in December (1222), Muqali had again called upon Hsi Hsia for help and he now arrived before Fêng-hsiang with a combined Mongol-Tangut army. The Tangut troops alone, says the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, counted 100,000 cavalry and infantry. Commanding them was a certain Kung-chu Hu-ch'uang, who is spoken of as a man of great arrogance. Under his personal direction many furious assaults were delivered on the city, but the garrison, ably led by the celebrated Wan-yen Chung-yüan, repulsed them all.

After a month of fruitless attacks the general was one day surveying the situation when he was severely wounded in the arm-pit by an arrow from the walls and died. Depressed by this mishap and wearied by their losses, the other Tangut commanders resolved to retire and suddenly withdrew. Abandoned by his allies Muqali's forces became too weak to invest so large a city. "I have been entrusted by Chinghiz Khan," he said, "to carry out many campaigns. I have conquered Liao-Tung, Liao-hsi, Ho-pei, and Shan-Tung, and the towns of all I have taken without much difficulty, but T'ien-p'ing and Yen-an have both resisted my arms, and now after more than a month's leaguer, I have failed to reduce Fêng-hsiang. Does this mean that I have come to my end!"

[1] The *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* implies that Muqali arrived before Fêng-hsiang in January, the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, the *T'ung-chien Chi-lan*, and the *T'ung-chien Kang-mu*, February, while the *Hsi Hsia Chi* gives March. However, since the Biography of Mu-hua-li (Muqali) in the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* reports that the general besieged the city a month and then retired, it is possible that the latter dates refer to his withdrawal.

The siege was raised, as must also have been the blockade of Ching Chao, and in February or March Muqali left the valley of the Wei and returned to Shan-hsi where he died during April at the town of Wên-hsi.

As for the Tangut their desertion was not so unpremeditated as it appeared. The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* states that when news was received of the defeat and death of Muqali's commander in South Shan-hsi, Hsi Hsia withdrew its support.[1] Probably the Chin victory in the east, together with their successful defence of Ching Chao and Fêng-hsiang, made the Tangut feel that the hand of the oppressor was weakening.

They were doomed to bitter disappointment. The Mongols quickly restored their authority in Shan-hsi, and burning to be revenged on the Tangut, made a raid westward to the Huang Ho. Setting out in November, 1223, possibly via the Southern Ordos, they arrived unopposed at the river and laid siege to Chi-Shih Chou. They had been there no more than ten days when they heard that the Chin were threatening their rear. This forced a retreat, and though successful, the commander Shih T'ien-hsiang was severely wounded in the head by an arrow during a night attack.[2]

That same November Li Tsun-hsiang (1211–1223) abdicated, and was succeeded by his son Li Tê Wang (1223–6). Supposedly to gain time the new king pretended to repent his predecessor's break with the Mongols, and in January, 1224, sent an army to attack the Chin at Lan Chou. But at Chih-ku pao, a fort covering the city, it was defeated.

1224

Li Tê Wang soon revealed his true colours, and in March stirred up the Shara Uigur and other vassal tribes of Western Hsi Hsia to make an attack on the Mongols.[3] Chinghiz Khan and the main

[1] This, with the reference to the subsequent re-establishment of relations with the Mongols, the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* has incorrectly dated under the year 1222 instead of 1223.

The commander in question was the famous Shih T'ien-ying who was surprised and slain at Ho-chung fu on 4th February, 1223.

[2] Shih T'ien-hsiang was a Chinese soldier in the service of the Mongols, and one of the ablest men under Muqali. The *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* simply says that in the tenth month of 1223 he attacked Hsi Hsia, but his biography specifies the region as the Ho-lan Shan (Ala Shan). Since this range is on the west side of the Huang Ho it is not likely that he got there. Further, since the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* declares that the Mongols attacked Chi-Shih Chou during the tenth month (26th October to 24th November) of 1223, it seems reasonable to identify the expedition with that led by Shih T'ien-hsiang.

[3] The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* states that Li Tê Wang applied to "the tribes north of the sands" for help against Chinghiz Khan, who was then still in Hsi-yü (the west). From the Chinese text this could mean either that the tribes in question

army were not yet back from the west, and the war with the Chin kept considerable forces tied down in the east, so the troops remaining in Mongolia cannot have been numerous. Therefore Li Tê Wang probably instructed the said tribes to make a raid northward from the Etsin Gol.

How far this was successful is unknown, but in May or June the raiders were evidently driven back, for a Mongol army made a counter inroad and invested Sha Chou.[1] At the end of a month so little progress had been made in the siege that the Mongol commander ordered a mine to be dug under the walls. The defenders, however, countermined and burned out the attackers.

Chinghiz Khan, who was then camped on the Qara Irtish, being informed that the reduction of the place would be a long and arduous undertaking, ordered Boru, son of Muqali and successor to his command in China, to march on Yin Chou. This town lay south of the Ordos in the most easterly part of Hsi Hsia, so that it was within comparatively easy striking distance of the eastern army. Realizing that if the defence of Sha Chou continued long the Tangut would try to relieve it, Chinghiz Khan resolved to anticipate any such move by directing the forces of Boru to threaten the opposite end of their dominions. In September the general marched towards Yin Chou. As expected he was attacked, and in the ensuing battle the Tangut were defeated with heavy losses, their general T'a-hai Kan-po (Ganbo) captured, and many thousand head of livestock swept off. The advance was then continued and Yin Chou was taken. Boru himself did not remain in the town, but left Möngü Bukha to hold all strategically important points in the neighbourhood.

Alarmed by these reverses, Li Tê Wang sued for an armistice. Since he was not yet ready to settle accounts with Hsi Hsia, Chinghiz Khan agreed to make peace on condition that one of the king's

actually dwelt north of the sands—presumably the Taklamakan—or were known by that name because of having come thence in days gone by. At this time all the country north of the Taklamakan was subject to the Mongols, so the reference must be to the Sa-li Wei-wu-erh (Shara Uigur) who dwelt in West Kan-su, and also it would seem along the Edsin Gol. Living in the same region with them were two tribes whom the Chinese called the T'ê-lo and Ch'ih-min. Both were perhaps once vassals of the Uigur and like them were incorporated into the Tangut realm by Chao Yuan-hao prior to his accession. The name "tribes north of the sands" was probably used to differentiate the Uigur, T'ê-lo, and Ch'ih-min from the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the mountains (Nan Shan) to the south.

[1] The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* says that Chinghiz Khan led the army, but it is well known that he spent the summer of 1224 on the Qara Irtish, so the force must have been under one of his officers.

sons be sent to him as a hostage. The siege of Sha Chou, where supplies were almost exhausted, was then raised and in December the Mongols returned to the north.

1225 It is unlikely that Li Tê Wang ever intended to keep his promise, for as early as November (1224) he had been secretly negotiating with the Chin for an alliance against the Mongols.[1]

During February or early March, 1225, Chinghiz Khan reached the River Tola, where he pitched his camp for the summer and awaited Li Tê Wang's son. By April no hostage had appeared, so an envoy was sent to Chung-hsing to demand an explanation. On his arrival Li Tê Wang took counsel with his ministers as to what he should do. Feeling that Hsi Hsia could not risk war with a people who had vanquished the Chin, many were for peace, but others were for war and it was they who carried the day. The Mongol envoy was sent back to inform Chinghiz Khan that no hostage would be given.

The Tangut at once began preparations. Conscription was declared, fortifications were strengthened, and all troops scattered in 1224 were reassembled. Further, Li Tê Wang was advised to do all he could to obtain the active assistance of the Chin. Co-operation on their mutual border was to be facilitated by a system of fire signals. So negotiations were pressed forward and in October (1225) a secret treaty was signed and was made public in November.

Chinghiz Khan was not taken by surprise. As soon as his envoy returned from Chung-hsing, he knew that the time had come to finish with the Tangut. Then, or very shortly afterwards, he also learned of the negotiations in progress between Li Tê Wang and the Chih emperor. This meant that he would have both powers to contend with, and though the Chin were now much reduced their aid, if they were allowed time to organize on a large scale, would greatly add to the difficulties of the conquest. It was therefore imperative to strike hard and fast. This time his plan of campaign would be to attack the centre of Tangut power only when the supporting regions to the west had succumbed.

A great army was mobilized, according to the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* 100,000 men, and by autumn was ready for the field.[2] War was then

[1] See the *Chin Shih*.

[2] One hundred thousand is doubtless a round figure, but may be pretty near the truth. The *Yüan Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* says that Chinghiz Khan took his whole army which is of course an exaggeration. Petis de La Croix—see *Histoire du Grand Genghiz-can Premier Empereur des Anciens Mogols*—states that the

formally declared on the *casus belli* that Li Tê Wang had failed to send his son as a hostage and because his predecessor had refused to help in the invasion of Khwarizm.

Before the beginning of November the army was on the march. With Chinghiz Khan went his two sons Ögödei and Tului, one of his wives Yesui, his old and faithful friend Bo'orchu (Bogorchu), Subotai, the most brilliant of his surviving generals, and the great Khitan minister Yeh-lü Ch'u-tsai. At home, to govern in his absence, he left his second son Jaghatai.

In many respects the ensuing war was the most dramatic in Mongol history. Not only did it end in the destruction of the Tangut kingdom but it saw the death of the mighty conqueror. Little known to Moslem or European historians, the conquest of Hsi Hsia is better known to the Mongols than any other of Chinghiz Khan's exploits. Around it the "Sanang Setsen" has woven an atmosphere of sombre grandeur.[1] The Mongols still call the cities of Kan-su and Ning-hsia by the names under which their ancestors knew them, and speak of the Huang Ho as the Khatun Göl (River of the Queen) in memory of the suicide of the Tangut queen Gurbeljin Goa whom they believe to have murdered Chinghiz Khan.

Moving from the Tola, Chinghiz Khan advanced to the Onghin Göl, and in November stopped to stage a hunt at Aburkha near the upper reaches of the river.[2] During this a wild horse frightened his mount and he was thrown heavily to the ground. So badly did the fall injure him that camp had to be made on the spot.[3] The next day

invading force numbered 160,000. This he divides as follows: 40,000 men under Jaghatai, 30,000 under Jebe and Subotai, 20,000 Khwarizmians under Ilenku, 20,000 Indians under Bala, 30,000 Jetes and Qipchaq under Badr ad-Din, and 30,000 more Khwarizmians under the command of Danishmand, while 20,000 men were left behind with Ögodei to guard Mongolia. This enumeration Petis de La Croix has obtained from Moslem sources which are of little consequence when dealing with the Mongol wars in China. How unreliable is the above information can be gauged by two facts alone. Jebe had been dead since 1222 and it was Jaghatai, not Ögödei, who was left in Mongolia.

[1] The *Sanang Setsen* was written by the Ordos prince of Uchin during 1662. Containing many legends strongly influenced by Lamaism, it is of little historical value for the career of Chinghiz Khan, but is still the most popular history among the Mongols of to-day.

[2] Grenard—see his *Gengis Khan*—believes that Aburkha was located between the sources of the Tui and Onghin rivers. This is quite likely, for Chinghiz Khan's most logical line of march would take him from the Tola to the Onghin. Then, as now, there was a well used route between these two rivers, and on reaching the latter, he probably held a hunt on its upper reaches. (See the British General Staff Map of Asia, sheet 22, on Mongolia, published 1931; also A. Hermann, *Atlas of China*, published at the Harvard University Press in 1935.)

[3] Shu-wa-êrh-ho-T'i is the name given to the place by the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, which is the source for this incident as well the subsequent embassy to the Tangut king.

Yessui informed the princes and chief officers that Chinghiz Khan was still in great pain. Thereupon Tolun Cherbi advocated that the army retire and return later when the conqueror was well. "The Tangut," he said, "are a sedentary people and cannot trek away. We will now return home, and when the Khakan is better we will come here again." All present agreed, but Chinghiz Khan dissented. "If we go, the Tangut will certainly think I was afraid of them. I will be cured here. Let us send a message and see what answer they give us." So an envoy was sent to Li Tê Wang and spoke to him as follows: "You began by promising to be my right hand, but when I went against the Moslems you refused to go with me and added insult to disobedience. Now, after having conquered the Moslems, I demand satisfaction of you."

On hearing these words Li Tê Wang denied that he had used offensive language, but before he could say more Asha Ganbo interposed and claimed full responsibility for all that had gone before. "Tell thy master," he said to the messenger, "that at Ho-lan Shan (Ala Shan) we have felt tents and camels and that there he will find us ready to give battle. Moreover, if he desires gold, silver, and silks, let him seek them at Hsi-liang and Chung-hsing." When this answer was brought to Chinghiz Khan, he exclaimed: "Is it possible for us to go back now! I may die, but I will bring him to account; this I swear by the Everlasting Sky."

Most of the winter (1225–6) the army remained in camp, but along the Tangut frontier a screen of scouts was stationed to keep an eye on the enemy. The season being one of unusual cold the men were provided with special sheepskin coats, and even their horses were wrapped in felt.[1]

1226 In February, 1226, the storm broke. Resuming the advance the Mongols marched southward over the Gurban Saikhan Ula and in March crossed the Hsi Hsia border into the Etsin Gol country. Apprized of their approach Li Tê Wang ordered the commander at Ch'in-ch'üan to destroy the bridge over the Sha-chi Ho. Despite this, when Subotai and the advance forces of the Mongols reached the place, the damage was repaired in a single night. Crossing the river the general made for Hei-shui Ch'eng, and near it defeated a combined army of Shara Uigur, T'ê-lo, and Ch'ih-min. The town

[1] Petis de La Croix, *Histoire du Grand Genghiz-can Premier Empereur des Anciens Mogols*.

was invested, and although it contained a strong garrison of T'u-fan (Tibetan) soldiers, was taken with great slaughter.[1]

Apparently Subotai crossed the western branch of the Etsin Gol, but a large part of the army must have marched south between the Gashun Nor (Chu-yen Hai) and Sokho Nor to the main channel below.

About a month seems to have been spent resting along the river, for it was not until May that the invaders appeared in the vicinity of Su Chou and Kan Chou. The conqueror himself camped in the Hun-ch'ui Shan, part of the Nan Shan to the south of Su Chou, from where he could direct operations and yet escape the heat of summer.[2] But his troops devastated the surrounding country and prepared for the siege of the two cities.

By June they were before Su Chou. Learning that it was well defended and determined to resist, Chinghiz Khan instructed Hsi-li-chin-p'u,[3] a Tangut in his service but younger brother to the city commander, to try and negotiate its capitulation. The attempt failed, and the Mongols were so enraged that when they captured the place in late June or early July, they slew nearly every living soul in it. Only 106 families, whose lives were begged by Hsi-li-chin-p'u, were spared. The Mongols now moved on to Kan Chou where a similar incident occurred.

Many years before, we are told, the commander of Kan Chou, having no male heir, took a concubine. She was on the point of giving birth to a child, when his wife, fearing for her position, secretly sent the woman away and married her to the chief herdsman. The banished concubine bore a son, who grew into a handsome youth of great strength. One day, while out herding, he fell in with Chinghiz Khan, who had taken the field to hunt. Impressed by

[1] See the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Su-pieh-u-t'ai (Subotai) and *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*.

[2] The Hun-ch'ui Shan is the range mentioned by the *Yüan Shih* as the site of Chinghiz Khan's summer camp in 1226. T'u Chi, author of the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, says that the name is equivalent to Hsüeh Shan (Snowy Mountains), and locates the range south of Hsi-liang (Liang Chow). Wu Kuang-ch'êng, writer of the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, says that the mountains were north of Su Chou, but this is a slip for south, as the only range to the north of the town is a barren elevation in the Gobi known as the Hung Sha Ling. In the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* the range is called the Ch'a-shu-t'u, which T'u Chi says also means Snowy Mountains. Finally, the *Chung Kuo Ku-chin Ti-ming Ta-tzŭ-tien* informs us that the name Hsüeh Shan (Snowy Mountains) is sometimes applied to the present Ch'i-lien Shan to the south of Su Chou. Camped there, Chinghiz Khan could easily have supervised the siege of the two cities, so it is highly probable that the Hun-ch'ui Shan are to be identified with the Ch'i-lien Shan of to-day.

[3] He was also known as Hsi-li-ch'ien. (See the *Hsi Hsia Chi*.)

the boy's speech and bearing the conqueror adopted him and placed him in his wife's care.[1] When he had grown up he was given the Mongol name of Chakhan (the White). Serving both in China and the west with distinction, he came to command the picked thousand of the Guard (Kächik).

It happened that in 1226 Chakhan's father was still in authority at Kan Chou, so Chinghiz Khan called upon the young Tangut to try and persuade him to surrender. Accordingly Chakhan shot an arrow over the walls with a message urging submission. This was brought to the commander who secretly communicated his willingness to negotiate. A Mongol representative was dispatched to discuss terms, and all seemed on the point of being settled, when the vice-commander learned what was afoot. Taking thirty-five officers with him he surprised and slew his superior officer together with his younger son and the Mongol envoy. This done he declared that there would be no submission.

Furious at this second failure Chinghiz Khan ordered that the siege be pressed, and a month later Kan Chou was carried by assault. The city at his mercy, he wished to put all the inhabitants to the sword, but Chakhan interceded and in the end only the vice-commander and his accomplices were slain.[2]

While these operations had been under way Chinghiz Khan received a visit in his mountain camp from Yao-li Shih, the widow of his vassal Yeh-lü Liu-kê. Ever since her husband's death in 1220 she had carried on the Khitan government and now came with her sons, Shan-kê, T'ieh-kê, and Yung-an, her stepson, T'a-t'a-êrh, and her grandson Shou-kuo-nu to ask that Hsieh-shê, Liu-kê's eldest son, be allowed to return and succeed to his father's realm.

On seeing her Chinghiz Khan expressed his astonishment; "A strong eagle cannot fly hither but you a woman have come!" "Liu-kê," replied Yao-li Shih, "is dead and there is no ruler in the land. Hsieh-shê, his eldest son, has been with you for many years, but I hope now that Shan-kê, the second son, may take his place and that Hsieh-shê may return home and assume his father's throne."

[1] The boy was presumably picked up during the raid of 1205 and was brought to Chinghiz Khan along with other captives.

[2] The *Hsi Hsia Chi-shih Pên-mo* and the biography of Ch'a-han (Chakhan) in the *Yüan Shih* say that Chinghiz Khan intended to bury the whole population alive.

"Hsieh-shê," said Chinghiz Khan, "has been a Mongol for a long time. When he followed me to the west the Moslems one day surrounded my firstborn (Prince Juchi) at Qimaq, but Hsieh-shê took 1,000 men and brought him out in safety, though he himself was wounded by a lance. Again, at Bukhara and Samarkand, when my men were engaged in hand to hand fighting, he was struck by an arrow. Because he has repeatedly rendered such services, he has been made a ba'atur (a brave). So I cannot part with him, but must let Shan-kê succeed in his stead."

When Yao-li Shih heard these words she wept. "Hsieh-shê," she lamented, "was born of Liu-kê's first wife, so it is he who should be ruler. Shan-kê is my son. If you command that he take the throne, it will seem to favour me and will be in contempt of family precedent. Therefore it will be wrong."

Struck with admiration at her generosity Chinghiz Khan bestowed upon her many presents, and requesting that she remain with him during the conquest of the Tangut, promised that Hsieh-shê should succeed to Liu-kê. However, Yao-li Shih obtained permission to depart, and going home with Yung-an, left her other sons in the Mongol camp.[1]

Master of the Kan-su corridor Chinghiz Khan detached one force to march west and reduce the valley of the Shu-lo Ho,[2] and ordered another to move on Hsi-liang. The latter force arrived at the city in August and received its surrender from the elders. Hsi-liang was probably the second city in Hsi Hsia and its failure to resist must have been a grievous blow to Li Tê Wang. At all events its capitulation on top of the fall of Kan Chou and Su Chou was too much for him. In the words of the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*: "Despairing over these disasters, he died and was succeeded by his younger brother Li Hsien" (1226–7).[3]

Li Tê Wang must have believed that the cities of Su Chou, Kan Chou, and Hsi-liang would hold up the Mongols for a considerable

[1] The report of Yao-li Shih's visit to Chinghiz Khan comes from the *T'ung-chien Kang-mu*, which dates it during December (1226) when the conqueror was at Yen-ch'üan Chou, i.e. to the east of the Huang Ho and immediately south of the present Ordos. However, Fêng Ch'êng-chun—see his *Biography of Ch'eng-chi-ssŭ Han*—believes that it took place during the summer when the conqueror was in the Hun-ch'ui Shan. He does not state why, but perhaps Chinghiz Khan's exclamation "A strong eagle cannot fly hither" implies that he was in the mountains and not on the plains.

[2] Some Chinese texts contain the two words, Shu-lo and Ho-lo, but instead of two places, the words would seem to stand for the valley of the present Shu (Suo)-lo (lai) Ho in far western Kan-su.

[3] The *Hsin Yüan Shih* says that Li Hsien was the stepson of Li Tê Wang.

time and weaken them sufficiently to make possible a future victory in the field. After the defeat of his army at Hei-shui Ch'eng, there is no mention of preparations for sending west another force. As in the opening phase of the Khwarizmian war the Mongols found the enemy putting his faith in strong walls instead of offensive action. So, from one end of Kan-su to the other, they were able to concentrate at every point in greater numbers than the Tangut. Having a very powerful siege train they experienced no great difficulty in taking all places in their path. Su Chou and Kan Chou each fell in four or five weeks, with the result that Hsi-liang surrendered almost without a blow. Whatever losses the Mongols suffered in these sieges the next months were to show that they were far from crippling.

By September the hot weather had abated. So Chinghiz Khan left the Hun-ch'ui Shan and rejoined the army. Marching from Hsi-liang along the foot of the Nan Shan he crossed the Sh'a T'ou—a belt of sand some ten miles wide—and made for the Nine Fords of the Huang-Ho. Covering this stood the town of Ying-li, which made so obstinate a resistance that it was not until December that he was before Ling Chou on the other side of the river.

Not a word is said of the route, but considering the terrain it is conceivable that after crossing the Nine Fords the Mongols went up the Hsi Ho and over the mountains to the Shan-shui Ho. Following this river down to the plain they evidently circumvented Chi-Shih Chou and advanced on Ling Chou. The former, though the first on their line of march, was surrounded by irrigation canals, so that it was dangerous to attack until the river was frozen.

Chinghiz Khan had penetrated to the political and economic heart of Hsi Hsia, and Li Hsien knew that a supreme effort must be made to stop him.

The Mongols had not besieged Ling Chou long when they learned that 100,000 men under Wei-ming Ling Kung were marching to its relief.[1] Chinghiz Khan did not wait for the enemy to arrive,

[1] One hundred thousand is the figure given for the army by the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, the *Hsi Hsia Chi*, the *Hsi Hsia Chi Shih Pên-mo*, and the Biography of Ch'a-han (Chakhan) in the *Yüan Shih*. Rashid ad-Din—see D'Ohsson—says fifty Tumens, i.e. 500,000 men, and that the host was under the personal command of the Tangut ruler. He further asserts that the battle was fought on the frozen flood plain of the Huang Ho and cost the Tangut 300,000 lives.

Doubtless 100,000 is no more than a round figure for a large army, but it is far nearer the truth than Rashid ad-Din's estimate, which like that for the Tangut casualties, is fantastic. As for the action having been fought on the frozen flood plain of the river, one must admit that it was possible, but the Moslem historian is the only one to mention it.

but crossing the Huang Ho won an overwhelming victory on the western side of the river. "After such a reverse," he declared, "Li Hsien cannot recover." The army then returned to the city which soon succumbed.

It is here that one first learns of Yeh-lü Ch'u-tsai's presence with the army. Instead of participating in the sack, he was content with salvaging some books and gathering a quantity of medicinal herbs.

Ling Chou fell late in December, and while the conqueror himself moved east and captured Yen-ch'üan Chou,[1] part of his troops took K'ê-i Mên, where Wei-ming Ling Kung fell into their hands. Pressing through the pass, this time from the east, they made themselves masters of Wu-la-hai Ch'êng and took prisoner Li Tê Jen, brother of the late Li Tê Wang. Offered his life if he would do homage, he proudly refused, and was executed.[2]

On capturing Yen-ch'üan Chou, near which he pitched camp, Chinghiz Khan had commanded his soldiers to exterminate the Tangut race.[3] It is to this period that an excerpt in the *T'ung-chien Kang-mu* refers. "People hide in vain among mountains and caves to escape the Mongol sword. Hardly one or two in a hundred save themselves, while the fields are strewn with the bones of human beings. Since the beginning of time no barbarians have been so powerful as the Mongols are to-day. They destroy kingdoms as one tears up grass. Why does heaven permit it!"

Barely had Chinghiz Khan proclaimed his murderous edict than five constellations were seen together in the south-west, and, informed that this was a bad omen, he rescinded the order. Henceforth, his

[1] The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* dates Chinghiz Khan's march on Yen-ch'üan Chou for the twelfth month of the Ping-wu nien (21st December, 1226, to 19th January, 1227), instead of for the eleventh month (21st November to 21st December, 1226). However, during the earlier month, five constellations appeared together in the south-west, and the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* and other works say that this phenomenon was seen by the conqueror when at Yen-ch'üan Chou. Therefore it would seem that the eleventh month is correct.

[2] The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* implies that after the fall of Ling Chou, Chinghiz Khan himself marched on Wu-la-hai, here mistakenly called Wu-na-la Ch'êng. But since the conqueror reached Yen-ch'üan Chou the same month—see above n. 1—the force must have been sent under one of his generals. Perhaps A-lu-chu who subsequently received orders to invest Chung-hsing.

The capture of K'ê-i Mên and the commander Wei-ming Ling Kung is intimated by one work alone. From the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* one learns that Chinghiz Khan defeated Asha Ganbo at the Ho-lan Shan and that subsequently the general was made prisoner in a fortress of the range. The principal stronghold in the Ho-lan Shan was K'ê-i Mên, so after the defeat of his army on the western side of the river, Wei-ming Ling Kung, whom I believe is the same as Asha Ganbo, might very well have fled there.

[3] Only the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* and the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* report Chinghiz Khan's order for the extermination of the Tangut.

troops, when assaulting towns, were to slay none but those in th front ranks and were to abstain from indiscriminate looting.

1227 In January, 1227, he directed the Mongol forces at Wu-la-ha to recross the Ho-lan Shan (Ala Shan) and lay siege to Chung-hsing Noise of this immediately came to Li Hsien, and resolving to mak one more desperate bid, he moved from the capital and marche over the mountains toward Wu-la-hai. The Mongols apparentl felt that if the Tangut were beaten on the western side of th range, their losses would be heavier than if they were able to see the shelter of Chung-hsing. At all events, Li Hsien's passage ove the Ho-lan Shan was undisputed. On the other side, however, h suffered a terrible defeat and fled back to Chung-hsing where th Mongols shortly arrived.[1]

Simultaneously Chinghiz Khan and the Khitan prince Hsieh-shê who had just returned from the west, besieged Chi-shih Chou which they carried by storm. The date is not given, but possibl April was the month, for it was about then that the conquero moved south. A garrison was left in the city, but soon an epidemi threatened to lay it low. Learning how matters stood Yeh-li Ch'u-tsai hurried to the scene, and with the help of the medicine he had gathered at Ling Chou cured the stricken men.[2] Typhus o dysentery suggest themselves, as either could have been occasione by the slaughter.

After the capture of Chi-shih Chou, Hsieh-shê joined the troop before Chung-hsing, as Chinghiz Khan had said that he wished th prince to have the honour of taking the Hsi Hsia capital.[3] Th

[1] The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* says that the battle was fought at Ho-la-ho-ch'a-êrh which is probably the Chinese transliteration of Kalajan. In A. Hermann's *Atla of China*—see pp. 42, 44, and 47—one finds Kalajan located west of the Ho-la Shan (Ala Shan) in the neighbourhood assigned by the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* to Wu-l hai. The two names may therefore stand for the same place, or perhaps one is th of the region, and the other, supposedly Wu-la-hai Ch'êng, the name of the tow

Only in the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* and the *Hsi Hsia Chi* are two major battl mentioned. All other works report only the attempted relief of Ling Chou.

(For information on Kalajan see Yule's *Book of Marco Polo*, vol. i, note t Cordier.)

[2] This information comes from the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*, which also informs that when Li Hsien learned of the epidemic, he planned to make a surprise attac and retake the place. But it is improbable that the Tangut King, besieged in h own capital, can seriously have contemplated ordering a force to try and brea out and recover Chi-shih Chou.

[3] Hsieh-shê's participation in the sieges of Chi-shih Chou and Chung-hsing recorded only by the *T'ung-chien Kang-mu*, which makes no reference to t presence of Chinghiz Khan at either place. However, the *Yüan Shih*, followed t the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* and other works, says definitely that the conqueror was Chi-shih Chou. The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* states that he sent, not led the army, the city, and that it only arrived there during the third month (19th March

Metropolis was now completely isolated, and almost the whole kingdom conquered. In the far west Sha Chou still held out, but in the east Hsia Chou, to the south of the Ordos, had fallen as early as November, 1226.[1] Who took it is not stated, but very likely its reduction was the work of Möngü Bukha, who it will be remembered was left by Boru in the autumn of 1224 to hold the Yin Chou area. As regards the Ordos it was probably raided into submission by troops sent out by the conqueror while at Yen-ch'üan Chou. This should not have been difficult, for one may suppose that the majority of its fighting men were with Li Hsien at the capital.

With the field forces of the Tangut virtually destroyed Chinghiz Khan could spare troops for an offensive against the Chin. Before he left for Chi-shih Chou he had ordered Subotai to move into the valley of the T'ao Ho.[2] From a study of the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* and its biography of the general, one gathers that Subotai marched south to Huan Chou and there swung south-west and seized Chên-jung. Thence he moved southward to the Liu-p'an Shan, crossed the range, and attacked Lung-Tê and Tê-shun. They proved too strong to take at once, so leaving a blockading force, he marched via Hsi-ning, only reduced in March or April, and on through Ting-hsi to the city of Lan Chou.[3] This was captured, and advancing up the T'ao Ho, he arrived before Lin-t'ao. It fell in February or March, so while one part of his army went upstream to besiege T'ao Chou, another crossed the river and marched west to Ho Chou on the Ta-hsia Ho. Neither resisted long, and by March or the middle of April, both had succumbed. His task finished Subotai returned to report to Chinghiz Khan that Chin authority in the

18th April), but in view of the Mongol operations south of the Hoang Ho from the second month of the year on (18th February to 19th March), it is not likely that the conqueror left Chi-shih Chou unattacked in his rear until so late. Perhaps the discrepancy in the two dates is due to the Mongols having begun the siege in the first month (19th January to 18th February) and captured the city in the third month (19th March to 18th April).

[1] See the *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih*.

[2] One is not told when Subotai left Yen-ch'üan Chou, but as the city of Lin T'ao fell during the second month of the year (18th February to 19th March, 1227), it would have been impossible for him to have got so far west unless he set out in late January or early February.

Some writers appear to believe that the conquest of the T'ao valley was carried out by troops that marched from Hsi-liang (Liang Chou) and crossed the Huang Ho at Lan Chou. But the Biography of Subotai clearly states that on his way west, the general attacked Chen-jung and Tê-shun before he took Lan-hui (Lan Chou) and the towns of the T'ao.

[3] Neither Huan Chou nor Ting-hsi are mentioned, but both lay on Subotai's most logical line of march

T'ao Ho area was no more, and presented him with a gift of 5,000 horses.

As well as this news there came tidings from the west. Sha Chou had at last fallen and April saw the whole of the Shu-lo Ho valley under the heel of the invader. With the exception of Chung-hsing, the once powerful kingdom of Hsi Hsia had ceased to exist.

Towards the end of April or in the first half of May Chinghiz Khan advanced south, and going over the Liu-p'an Shan, laid siege to Lung-tê. At the same time one of his generals began the reduction of Tê-shun.

Whilst in front of Lung-tê Chinghiz Khan sent an embassy to the Chin with the astonishing demand that they explain the reason for having sent no tribute.

As the month of June progressed the weather became very hot, so the conqueror repaired to the Liu-p'an Shan. There he ordered Chakhan to go to Chung-hsing and try and negotiate its surrender.

Ever since January the city had stoutly resisted all attempts to take it and at first Li Hsien refused to discuss terms. But at length food began to run short and sickness started to spread among the garrison and inhabitants, so in July or August he and his officers agreed to capitulate. The king also consented to visit the Mongol camp, but before setting out he begged one month's grace in which to prepare some presents. Chinghiz Khan granted this and at the same time changed the monarch's name to Siduryu, meaning loyal or faithful. But he sent Tolun Cherbi to reside in the city until the requested time was up.

Haenisch has an interesting explanation for this alteration of Li Hsien's name.[1] In the Mongol language the title borne by all the Tangut rulers was Iluhu Burkhan, i.e. the Exalted or Conquering Buddha, which indicates that the kings of Hsi Hsia were spiritual as well as temporal lords. Although Chinghiz Khan had resolved to kill Li Hsien, he did not wish to offend the Buddhist Church by slaying a Buddha. Consequently he changed the king's name to Siduryu, as he could then put Li Hsien to death for having been a rebellious instead of a loyal vassal.

Besides the Tangut representatives the conqueror also received two peace envoys from the Chin, Wan-yen Ho-ta and Ao-tun A-hu, who reached his camp in the Liu-p'an Shan during July or August.

[1] Haenisch, *The Last Campaigns and Death of Chinghiz Khan according to Eastern Asiatic Sources*, Asia Major, 1933.

When he had heard the object of their mission he turned to those about him and said: "Since the conjunction of the five constellations we forbade further slaughter and plundering; why have you forgotten my commands? Make public my orders to all so that even travellers may know my will." Beyond these words he made no reply to the deputation, and the Chin, mistakenly thinking that he was about to suspend hostilities, called a temporary halt in their collection of taxes for the war.

Chinghiz Khan had now almost run his course. Late in August or early in September he fell ill, and after no more than seven days, died at the age of sixty.[1]

Of the manner and place of his death there are various accounts. The *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* and the *Yüan Shêng-wu Ch'in-chêng-lu* report that he lived to see the end of the war with Hsi Hsia and returned to Mongolia where he died. The *Yüan Shih* says that the end came in Ch'ing-shui Hsien on the Hsi Ho. The *Sanang Setsen* declares that he died at Ling Chou, and the *Sung Shih* names the Liu-p'an Shan. Since the Mongol records are often inaccurate as regards the details and chronology of Chinghiz Khan's wars outside Mongolia the *Yüan Shih* would seem the safest source to follow. So one may assume that he died on the extreme upper reaches of the Hsi Ho, which is to-day known as the Ch'ing-shui Ho. The present Ch'ing-shui Hsien is south, not north, of the Liu-p'an Shan.

The nature of the conqueror's illness is unknown, but the heavy fall he sustained when hunting at Aburkha in November, 1225, may have had something to do with it.

The *Yüan Shih* reports that on his death-bed he outlined a plan for the completion of the war against the Chin. "The best troops of the Chin," he said, "are at T'ung Kuan; to the south they rest on the Lien Shan, on the north they reach the great river (Huang Ho). It is not easy to force this position, but if permission can be obtained to march through the dominions of the Sung our men can be led via Têng and T'ang and go straight to Ta-liang (K'ai-fêng). This will place the Chin in a difficult position and compel the withdrawal of several tens of thousands of troops from T'ung Kuan.

[1] M. Pelliot in a communication to the Asiatic Society on 9th December, 1938, reports that recently investigated Chinese sources of the year 1340 date the birth of Chinghiz Khan in 1167. The previously accepted date in the *Yüan Shih* was the year 1162, that given by the Persian histories, 1155.
(René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, addendum.)
It is from the *Yüan Shih* that one learns that Chinghiz Khan's illness lasted no more than seven days.

But these, both men and horses, will be exhausted after marching over one thousand li (approximately 330 miles) to the capital, and even if they arrive will be worthless and fall an easy prey to our men." [1]

There can be no doubt that had Chinghiz Khan lived, a final offensive against the Chin would soon have started, perhaps that very winter. The primary object of Subotai's expedition west of the Liu-p'an Shan must have been to prevent the Chin outflanking the invading army when the attack began. Chinghiz Khan's death postponed the day, and not until 1230 did the Mongols resume operations on a large scale. When they did their plan of campaign included that laid down by the conqueror.[2]

Chinghiz Khan left other instructions. His death was to be kept a close secret until the arrival of Li Hsien who was to be seized and slain.

His one month's grace at an end Li Hsien departed for the Mongol camp, where he arrived in September. There he was told that Chinghiz Khan was ill and was ordered to make his greetings outside the Imperial quarters. He did this and also offered many rich presents; gold and silver basins, golden Buddha statues, horses, camels, and young boys and girls, of each gift nine, but all availed him nothing. He was bidden to bow down before the conqueror's tents and three days later was slain with all his family by Tolun Cherbi.[3]

[1] Juwaini, see d'Ohsson, gives quite a different death-bed speech. According to him Chinghiz Khan, having reached Ongu Talan Khutuk, dreamed a dream portending his end. He therefore summoned Ögodei and Tului before him, and sending everyone else from his presence, spoke as follows: "I have almost come to my end. For you I have created this empire. To the north, south, east, and west my dominions extend for a year's journey. My last will and instructions are these. If you want to retain your possessions and conquer your enemies, you must make your subjects submit willingly and unite your energies to one end, as in that way you may continue to hold your power. When I am gone you must recognize Ögödei as my successor. Further, let each see to his own affairs. During many years I have enjoyed a great name and I die without regrets, but my spirit wishes to return to my native land. Although Jaghatai is not present to hear my words, I do not think that he will disobey my wishes and cause a disturbance. I die in the territory of the enemy, and though the ruler of Hsi Hsia has submitted, he has not yet arrived. Hence, after I am dead, conceal my death and kill him when he comes." Having spoken these words Chinghiz Khan died.

[2] T'u Chi, author of the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, believes that the plan drawn up for the final conquest of Chin was really the work of Ögödei and his staff, not of Chinghiz Khan.

[3] The *Hsi Hsia Shu Shih* and the *Hsi Hsia Chi* both state that the conqueror left instructions for Li Hsien's murder. The *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, however, declares that the Tangut king offered his presents to Chinghiz Khan in person. Three days later his name was changed to Siduryu, and Tolun Cherbi received orders to kill him. As seen, I think it more likely that his name was changed before leaving Chung-hsing and that he arrived with his presents after the great Mongol was dead.

Simultaneously Chung-hsing was occupied, and the officers of the besieging army wished to give it over to fire and sword. But, as at Kan Chou, Chakhan interceded, and though the city was looted and many women were violated, the lives of the people were spared.

Thus ended the most destructive war in the annals of Mongol history. Having for over two centuries weathered assaults from Sung, Khitan, and Chin, the kingdom of Hsi Hsia was swept from the face of the earth by the all-conquering Mongol.

The body of Chinghiz Khan was taken back to his homeland, and while part of the army was left to carry on hostilities against the Chin, the rest accompanied the funeral cortege to Mongolia.[1] According to the Biography of Subotai [2] this was commanded by the great general himself, but the later and more fanciful *Sanang Setsen* says that it was led by a certain Kilugen Ba'atur. Addressing the spirit of the conqueror Kilugen wailed: "O Lord Bogdo (divine one) wilt thou leave us thus? Thy birth land and its rivers await thee, thy fortunate land with thy golden house surrounded by thy heroes await thee. Why hast thou left us in this warm land, where so many foemen lie dead?"

"Aforetime thou didst swoop like a falcon; now a rumbling cart bears thee onward,

"O my Khan!

"Hast thou in truth left thy wife and children, and the council of thy people?

"O my Khan!

"Wheeling in pride like an eagle, once thou didst lead us; but now thou hast stumbled and fallen

"O my Khan!"[3]

On arriving north of the desert Chinghiz Khan's remains were taken to his camp on the River Kerulen and there his death was made public. After that the body was buried in the Burkhan Khaldun Mountains (now the Kentei Khan range) where various

[1] The troops left behind conquered Ch'in Chou, Ch'ing-shui (the town of that name to the south of the Liu-p'an Shan) and other places in the upper valley of the Wei Ho. With the winter, they moved down the river and plundered the departments of Fêng-hsiang and Ching-chao (Hsi-an) and penetrated as far east as Shang Chou to the south of T'ung Kuan. Perhaps this raid gave rise to the erroneous report that prior to Chinghiz Khan's death, Ögödei and Chakhan laid siege to K'ai-fêng—see *Yüan Shih*.

[2] *Meng-wu-êrh Shih*, Biography of Su-pieh-u-t'ai (Subotai).

[3] See Howorth, *History of the Mongols*.

of his family were later laid to rest. But up to the present neither his grave nor theirs has been discovered.[1]

From the words spoken by Chinghiz Khan at Aburkha on the return of his messenger from the Tangut King, it is evident that he had a premonition of death, and throughout the ensuing campaign he was probably a dying man. As related he had with him two extremely able soldiers, Bo'orchu, perhaps acting as chief of staff, and the great Subotai. To either he might have delegated the conduct of the war. However, so important did he consider it, that despite his illness, he remained at the head of the army until the last.

Having fought the Tangut before, he knew that the war would be a hard one, and he was not wrong. Except at Hsi-liang, the Tangut resisted with a determination that excites the highest admiration. But it was a hopeless struggle from the first. When Chinghiz Khan took the field in the autumn of 1225 the Mongol army was the greatest war machine the world had ever seen. Experienced in campaigns from the Yellow Sea to the Crimea and possessed of every siege engine known to that age, it was all but invincible.

The Mongol casualties during the war are unknown, but in addition to the loss of their great leader, there also died Bo'orchu, the conqueror's oldest friend and companion of his early days.[2]

The destruction of Hsi Hsia, though overshadowed by the invasions of the Chin and Khwarizmian empires, was a tremendous undertaking. Never attempted by Khitan, Jürchät, or Sung, it was accomplished by Chinghiz Khan. One of the principal events of the

[1] The report that Chinghiz Khan's funeral *cortege* slew all whom it met comes from Marco Polo and is almost certainly not true. Apparently the Venetian was confused by the story of Mongku Khan's last journey to the north when as many as 20,000 people are believed to have been killed by the escorting soldiers.

[2] As regards Bo'orchu, the *Meng-wu-êrh Shih* implies that his death occurred some time between that of Chinghiz Khan and the great battle fought with the Tangut on the western side of the Ho-lan Shan, but its cause is not given. The *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* refers to his presence with the army, but has not a word to say on his end. This is strange, because he figured prominently in Chinghiz Khan's rise to power, which is that part of his career most extensively dealt with by the work.

Although the oldest record extant on Chinghiz Khan, the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih*, is guilty of many such omissions and contains several chronological errors. An outstanding instance occurs in the message delivered by the Mongol envoy to the Tangut king after Chinghiz Khan's injury at Aburkha. Li Tê Wang had not ascended the throne until 1224, yet it is he who is accused of having failed to assist in the Khwarizmian war. As already seen, the culprit was his predecessor, Li Tsun-hsiang, but despite shortcomings of this nature, the *Yüan Ch'ao Pi Shih* is invaluable since it provides information found nowhere else.

thirteenth century, it was also one of the greatest military achievements in a career of conquest unparalleled in the history of war.

The accompanying maps are based on: The Pei Chih-na Ti-T'u (Map of N. China) published by Kobayashi, Tokyo; The British General Staff Map of Asia, sheet 22 (Mongolia), published 1931; A. Herman, Atlas of China, published by the Harvard University Press, 1935; The Li Tai Yu-ti Yen-ke Hsien-yao-t'u (Historical Map of China) by Yang Shou-ch'ing; The Chung Kuo Ku-chin Ti-ming Ta-tzu-tien (Historical Dictionary of Chinese Geography); The Sui-yüan Sheng Fen-hsien Tiao-ch'a (Survey and History of Sui-yüan) and Bretschneider, Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources.

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An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn

By W. B. HENNING

A TRANSLATION and full explanation of the complete recension of the Bundahishn have been wanted ever since Anklesaria in 1908 published his facsimile edition, the few Iranian scholars having been occupied with the endless stream of fresh material that has descended upon them since the beginning of this century. This article contains a translation of the second chapter; the first and third chapters were made available by Nyberg, *JA.*, 1929, i, 206–237.

The second chapter, like few other sections of the book, allows us a glimpse of the structure and composition of the "Bundahishn" which are already sufficiently indicated. by its correct title, *Zandāgāhīh*, i.e. exposition of information provided by the Pahlavi version of the Avesta. It is an original work on cosmology in which the scattered teachings of the Avesta were co-ordinated and brought into a system by an author who, living presumably towards the end of the Sassanian epoch,[1] possessed an encyclopædic knowledge of the Avestic literature. The oft-repeated assertion that the Bundahishn were the Pahlavi version of an Avestan *Nask*, the *Dāmdād Nask*, is a myth. It is true that the compiler utilized also the Dāmdād Nask, but only as one source among many: others are the Vendidad, Yasna, Yashts, Nyāyish, etc.[2] From the resemblance of the contents of ch. xxviii to the Hippocratical treatise περὶ ἑβδομάδων (believed to have been written about 420 B.C.) Goetze [3] has argued a very early date for the composition of the Dāmdād Nask as the presumed source of the Bundahishn. This cannot be accepted as proved, since there is nothing to show that the Dāmdād Nask formed the sole (or even the main) source of the Bundahishn. We are at liberty to assume that a Pahlavi version of the Greek treatise or an epitome made from it (translated

[1] This, however, still remains to be proved. All we know is that the final chapters (xxxi to xxxvi), regarded as a later addition by most scholars, were written in Abbasid times; the date of ch. xxxi, a bowdlerized version of *Vd.*, i (Pahl. tr.), is settled by Baghdād being mentioned (205^{12}); confusion of *Sūlik* and *Sūrīk*. On ch. xxix see Christensen, *Kayanides*, 51-60.

[2] For example, *Vd.* 2^{25} in 68^{9} and 94^{6-7} (see below *Note A*); *Y.* 57^{1} (or 3^{20}, or par.) in 170^{1-4}; *Tištr Yt.* in 63; Pahl. tr. of *Nyāyish* 3^{4-7} (pp. 29–31, ed. Dhabhar) in 165; etc. For further details see Christensen, *ibid.*, 47 sq.

[3] *Zeitschrift f. Indologie u. Iran.*, vol. ii; supported by Reitzenstein and Schaeder, *Studien*, 6 sqq., 209, *et passim.*

probably under Shapur I) was among the material utilized in ch. xxviii.[1]

The astronomical contents of the second chapter facilitate the analysis of the sources at the disposal of the author. His main source with its nearly prehistoric views (sun and moon farther distant from the earth than the stars; size and velocity of the stars; planets unknown, etc.) is clearly pre-Achæmenian. After contact with the Babylonians the ecliptic, the zodiacal signs, the planets, etc., became known. Acquaintance with Greek science, energetically promoted by Shapur I, brought more modern ideas (e.g. stellar magnitudes, exact data for the elongation of the planets,[2] etc.). The division of the ecliptic into "lunar mansions" was introduced probably as late as A.D. 500.[3] The most ancient views stand beside quite modern opinions. There is no doubt that the author of the Bundahishn knew perfectly well that the moon is nearer to the earth than the fixed stars; to say so, however, against the authority of scripture, would have branded him as a heretic.[4]

On the Creation of the Lights

[A 25^{5}, W 6^{2}] Ohrmazd created [5] the Lights and set them between the heaven and the earth: the fixed stars, the not-fixed stars, then the moon, then the sun. [W 6^{5}] After he had first created a sphere, he [A 25^{10}] set the fixed stars on it, in particular the following twelve (constellations) [6] whose names are: Lamb, Ox, Two Pictures, Crab, Lion, Spica, Balance, Scorpion, Centaur, Goat,[7]

[1] The question whether or not the author of *De Hebdomadibus* was influenced by Oriental ideas, has no bearing upon the whole problem. "Oriental ideas" and Dāmdād Nask are not synonyms.

[2] See *Note B* at the end of this paper.

[3] See *Note E* at the end of this paper.

[4] A = Great Bundahishn, ed. Anklesaria; W = Indian Bd. (Westergaard).

[5] There is little doubt that *brihēnīdan* "create" and "predetermine, predestine" derives from *brī* "to cut": cf. Av. *taš-*, *θwarəs-*, etc., "cut" and "create". The *-h-* compares with that in Man.MPers. *pryhyn* "loving", whilst the shortening of palatal vowels in front of *-h-* is exemplified by Parthian *frhyft* "love" (commonly mistranslated "glory"), or by Persian *ǰihān* "world" (MPers. *gēhān*; *g*/*ǰ* as in *ǰūn*, *ǰā*). The late Pazend spelling *barhin-*, etc., is the correct continuation of *brihēn-*, cf. Pers. *farmāy-* from MPers. *framāy-*; indeed, we know that in later times Parth. *frhyft* was pronounced *farhift*. Nyberg's explanation of the verb as an ideogram (*JA.*, 1929, i, 250 sq.) carries little conviction.

[6] A recognition of their Babylonian origin might be found in a Dinkard passage (639^{11} sqq., epitomized 435 ult.) where it is told that Zoroaster explained the proper import of the zodiacal circle to the "Wise of Babylon" (*frazānagān-ī Bābelāyigān*).

[7] *whyk* = (young) he-goat, cf. Tavadia, *Šnš.* 129 (*ad* x, 9). In a Manichæan fragm. (M 235) we have: '*ystynyd* .... '*wd whyg'n* '*c xwy* = τὰ δὲ ἐρίφια Matthew 25, 33. Cf. Bakht. *big*.

Pail, Fish. In astronomy one also employs their subdivision in twenty-seven lunar mansions [1] [W 6^{10}] whose names are: Padevar, Pesh-Parviz, etc.[2]

[A 26^{4}, W 6^{15}] For all material creatures Ohrmazd has fixed their stations,[3] so that at the moment of the aggressor's arrival they should fight with their particular antagonists and deliver the creatures from their adversaries, in the way of an army and its battalions which are arrayed for a battle (viz. before the fighting starts).

[A 26^{8}] For each of those < twelve constellations >[4] 6,480,000 odd stars [5] were created, to assist them (viz. in the great fight). These are now counted as "fixed stars" (*aχtar*), and are apart from the countless stars which also are there to assist them.

[A 26^{11}, W 7^{1}] Over the fixed stars Ohrmazd appointed four Generals, (one) for (each of) the four directions, and over these Generals he appointed a General of Generals.[6] Many stars whose names are known, too many to be counted, were posted to the various districts and stations, for the purpose of invigorating and strengthening the fixed stars.[7] As HE says [8]: "Tishtrya (Sirius) is the General of the East, Sadwēs (Antares) is the General of the South, Wanand (Vega) is the General of the West, Haftōreng (Great Bear) is the General of the North, and Mēχ-ī Gāh (Polaris),[9] called also *Mēχ-ī miyān āsmān* (the peg in the centre of the sky),

[1] Read: *ušān ham-baχšišnīh pad xxvii χwardag āmārišnīg.*

[2] For details see *Note E* at the end of this paper.

[3] Read: *uš harwisp bundahišnān-ī gētīg māndān awiš kard hēnd* (rather than *mānišn*), equivalent to: *uš ō harw. bund. . . . . māndān k. h.; mānd* "house", etc., as Pahl. Ps. *m'nd-y*, Man. MPers. *mānd.*

[4] Restore: *harw aχtar-ē az awēšān < xii aχtarān >.*

[5] Thus TD_2 and Ind. Bd. 6,480,000 is 60 × 60 × 60 × 30, i.e. the number of *tertiae partes* (sixtieths of a second) contained in an arc of thirty degrees (= one *aχtar*). Hence, the total number of fixed stars was estimated as equal to the number of *tertiae partes* in a circle, or 77,760,000. The manuscript DH. wrongly has 8,480,000.

[6] Read: *spāhbedān spāhbed-ē abar awēšān spāhbedān gumārd.*

[7] Read: *pad hamzōrīh ud nērōg-dādārīh-ī awēšān aχtarān.*

[8] *čēgōn gōwēd* is the usual formula to introduce a quotation. The implied subject of *gōwēd* "he says" is the author of the book or tradition quoted (cf. Arab. *qāla* in Muslim books). When the book cited happens to be the Avesta (as in our Bundahishn passage), the subject of *gōwēd* is the author of the Avesta, namely Ohrmazd according to Zoroastrian teaching (cf. Dinkard, pp. 9–10). In such cases *čēgōn gōwēd* (often amplified: *č. g. pad dēn*) corresponds to the Muslimic formula: *qāla* (or *qauluhu*) *ta'ālā.* The reading *guftēt* "it has been said" (as if the author of the Avesta were unknown) which Nyberg has proposed for *YMLLWN-yt* (*JA.*, 1929, i, 264; *Hilfsb.*, ii, 84), not only violates the Pahlavi grammar, but is unacceptable also for semasiological reasons.

[9] See *Notes D, F, G* at the end of this paper.

is the General of Generals.[1] Pārend, Mazdadād,[2] and others of that kind are Chief District-Commanders."

[A 27[6]] The astronomers nowadays call these stars *inerrantes*,[3] and instead of "large", "small", "medium", they use the expressions "first magnitude", "< second > magnitude", "third < magnitude >".[4]

[A 27[8]] (Ohrmazd) laid out this sphere (i.e. the zodiacal sphere) in the likeness of a year: the twelve constellations (zodiacal signs) like the twelve months, each constellation with its thirty degrees [5] like a month with its thirty nychthemera.

[A 27[11]] He posted the Great Bear to the northern direction where the hell was to be at the time of the aggressor's arrival. A tether ties each of the seven continents to the Great Bear, for the purpose of managing the continents during the period of the Mixture. That is why the Great Bear is called *Haftōreng*.[6]

[A 27[15]] Ohrmazd laid out the sphere of the fixed stars in the likeness of a spinning-wheel, so that [7] at the time of the Mixture they (the stars) cou'd start revolving.

[A 28[1]] As another (sphere) on top of these < fixed stars > Ohrmazd placed the Unmixable Stars, for the purpose that at

[1] The remaining portion of the second chapter is omitted in the Indian Bd.

[2] Presumably two of the stars "whose names are known" mentioned before. *Pārend* = Av. *Pārendi-* ? One can hardly read *Pārend-ī mazdadād*.

[3] Read: *stārag-ī 'wyd'p'nyk* = *a-wiyābān-īg*. The latter word has survived in Persian as *biyābānī*, according to Aḥmed b. 'Abd-al-Jalīl Sagzī (cited by S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 335, n. 469) = "the fixed stars of the first to the third magnitude and the lunar mansions". Since verbs derived from *wiyābān-* mean "to lead astray" (*wiyābānēnīdan*, etc.), it becomes clear that *a-wiyābānīg* "not subject to being led astray" is a translation of ἀπλανής, *inerrans*. The Persian astronomers naturally preferred this clear term to the ambiguous *axtar* (1) fixed star, (2) constellation, (3) zodiacal sign.

[4] The copyists evidently did not understand this passage. They left out two, and wrongly divided one word (*n-hwstyn*). Read: *wuzurgīh-ī noxustīn, wuzurgīh-ī < dudigar, wuzurgīh-ī > sidigar*. The first astronomer to classify the stars according to their "magnitudes" was Hipparchus (second century B.C.); he distinguished six magnitudes.

[5] See *Note B* at the end of this paper.

[6] These seven tethers constitute the "light" counterpart to the seven ties which connect the seven planets with the lower regions, and through which the planets exercise their influence upon terrestrial events. The inventor of this etymology of *Haftōreng* probably employed the word *rag* "vein" for these ties (*haft rag* "seven veins") for which *band* "tie, tether" has been substituted here. In unpublished Manichæan texts MPers. *rag* (also Sogdian *r'k*) is actually in use for these invisible and indestructible connecting lines (besides words like *band*, cf. e.g. *Mir. Man.*, i, 196). A Sogdian passage (on the "dark" ties, from *M* 178): *'ty cn wyspw δywtyy ky 'ty wy' 'nxrwznyy βstyt xnd wyx r'k 'ty ptβnd w'fnd 'ty ptyw'fnd*, "They wove to and fro *roots, veins, and connections* from all the demons who were imprisoned in the zodiacal circle." The *Kephalaia*, chaps. 48 and 49, contain a detailed description of these pipe-lines (Coptic *lihme*).

[7] Read: *'YK* (DH.).

the time of the aggressor's arrival they should repel him in battle and not let him carry his pollution (lit. "mixing") higher up. As the General over them, Ohrmazd appointed the Tyche of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians. There it (= the sphere of the Unmixable Stars) is called: "the Corps of the Immortals," the manifestation of purity in the mixed state. They are called "Unmixable Stars" for this reason that at the time of the adversary's < arrival > they were not subjected to becoming mixed. The astronomers < nowadays > use the expression "the sphere above the sphere". This sphere lacks computation and precession (?),[1] since they (i.e. the astronomers) are unable to observe in the pure ones any characteristics of the mixed ones.[2]

[A 28^{10}] Over that (sphere) Ohrmazd created the moon "in which the seed of the animals is stored" (= Av. *gaočiθra-*). Over the moon he created the sun "whose horses are swift" (= Av. *aurvat̰.aspa-*). He appointed sun and moon to the chieftainship over the stars, the mixed ones as well as the unmixable ones, so that all of them should be tied to the sun and the moon. Over the sun he created the Throne of the Aməša Spəntas which is in contact with the Endless Light, the throne of Ohrmazd. These are the "six stations", six works corresponding to the six material creatures.[3]

[A 29^{2}] Between the earth and the (lower) sphere[4] Ohrmazd placed the wind, the clouds, and the lightning-fire, so that at the time of the aggressor's arrival Tishtrya, with (the help of) the transcendent water,[5] could take the water and cause the rain to fall.[6] He tied these also to the sun, the moon, and the stars. Thus Tishtrya, the General of the East, is the helper and assistant of the lightning-fire, the wind, and the clouds.

[A 29^{8}] Among these stars, the large ones are like a piece of rock the size of a room,[7] the medium-sized ones are like a

[1] Read: *uš angārag ud wihēz padiš nēst ? wihēz* "to leave, or progress (in an upwards direction)" (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 60 sq.) is often confused with *wišēb-* "to shake, toss", and with *nišēb-* "below", in astrology = "dejection" (S. H. Taqizadeh, *l.l.*, p. 336; "*nišast*" is a misspelling of *nišēb*).

[2] On the two "spheres" see *Note C* at the end of this paper.

[3] See *Note C* at the end of this paper.

[4] Read: *miyān zam < īg ud > spihr.*

[5] MSS. *pwn ZK-y ms mynwg ZK*, to be read: *pwn ZK MY'-y mynwgyk* ? Cf. 37^{6} *Tištr .... hān āb stānēd, mēnōgīhā ō wād abispārēd*, etc.

[6] Read *tyštl* (TD$_2$ *twhšytwl*) *MY' YNSBWN-yt, w'l'n w'lynyt*. Cf. 63^{16}, 67^{4}, 130^{19}, 136^{1-2}, 137^{1}, etc.

[7] *č̌k'-i ktk-ms'd* is evidently the same as Av. *asma katō.maså* Yt. 17, 20, cf. Vd. 19, 4. "Stone" fits also Gr.Bd. 19^{14} where Nyberg (*JA.*, 1929, i, 222, 291) offers the reading: *sēnmurv* ! In that passage it is related that before the creation of the plants, etc., one-third of the surface of the earth was "hard as *č̌k'-d'r*" (read

rolling [1] wheel,[2] the small ones like the head of the domesticated ox.[3] The moon is the size of a racecourse of two *hāθras*, each geographical *hāθra* being about as much as a parasang of average length.[4] The sun is the size of *Ērān-vēǰ*.

[A 29[12]] Before the aggressor's arrival, the moon, the sun, and the stars stood still, did not revolve. In purity they passed the time. It was noon perpetually. After the aggressor's arrival, they started revolving, and they will not stop revolving until the end (of the world).

[A 30[1]] The velocity of the sun is that of a large three-feathered arrow which a large man shoots [5] from a large bow. The velocity of the moon is that of a medium-sized three-feathered arrow which a medium-sized man shoots from a medium-sized bow. The velocity of the stars is that of a small three-feathered arrow which a small man shoots from a small bow.[6] Among the fixed stars the following have the greatest velocity [7]: *Tishtrya* (Sirius), *Bašn* (Betelgeuse),

čč'-s'r = sangsār) = stony or rocky country, another was *gard-āgand* "filled with sand" (Nyberg: *vyarθ ayvand!* Cf. 136[11] *χāk ud gard* = 140[14] *MY'-l'y* = *'pl'* = *χāk ud gard*; *wād-ī gardag* "sand-storm"). Another clear passage is 140[1] where *čč'* alternates with *sng* 139[14]. Considering that *čč'* is (1) an ideogram, (2) the equivalent of *sang* "stone", it can be hardly anything but a strongly corrupt spelling of *KYP'* (*Frah.*, xvi, 3; Syr. *k'p'* = *kēfā*). We have to keep apart the *čč'* of *Frah.*, viii, 1 (one of the worst lines in that book) on which Nyberg based his explanation.

[1] Uncertain. The word (deceptively resembling *padīχw* "thriving") recurs 44[9] as "revolving".

[2] Hardly *čahragān* "spinning-wheels"? Possibly to be read *č'hrkw'n* = *čahraguwān*, cf. Man. MPers. *r'stw'n* "circuit, circumference" (= Pahl. "*r'stk'n*" Gr.Bd. 210[10], corrupted "*rah-wirān*" Jamaspi, vii, 2, p. 49, ed. Messina? But see *Pahl. Riv. Dd.* 49[11], p. 160, ed. Dhabhar).

[3] A similar comparison was contained in a lost Avestic text from which a few words are quoted in the *Frahang-i Oīm*, iv a, p. 15, ed. Reichelt: "And the smallest of those stars are like the head of a medium-sized man."

[4] The Avestic original to our passage probably merely said: "The moon is *čarətu-masah-*." On measures see *Note A* at the end of this paper.

[5] The present is spelt *wh-* in Man. MPers. texts (e.g. in *M* 819), i.e. *weh-* from OIr. *wid-* (= Yaghnobi *wid-*, Pashto *wul-*, etc.), cf. the *h* in Parachi *γuh-*.

[6] Since the sun reappears in the same meridian about four minutes later than a star, and the moon 52·7 minutes later than the sun, we should expect the statement that the stars were swifter than the sun, and the sun swifter than the moon. However, according to the Bundahishn the lunar and solar spheres are further from the earth than the sphere of the stars so that, to keep pace with the stars, sun and moon have to travel at a considerably greater velocity to cover the greater distances of their orbits.

[7] This statement is puzzling. That the "fixed" stars possess "proper motion" is a modern discovery (made by Halley in A.D. 1718), and the stars enumerated here (= lunar mansions 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, and Sirius) are not noteworthy for particularly great proper motion (except for Sirius and Procyon). Possibly the text means that the apparent absolute distance travelled by stars close to the equator is greater than that covered by stars near the poles during the same time (the angular distances measured in right ascension being equal); hence stars in proximity to the equator would appear to move quicker than others. Even so it is difficult to understand the reason for selecting only the stars enumerated here (all of which are fairly close to the equator).

**Trišag*[1] (Canis minor), "*Aparak*" (ζ Hydrae, etc.), "*Padēvar*" (β, γ Arietis ?), and *Pēš-Parwīz* (41 Arietis, etc.).

[A 30[8]] The interval of time[2] from the sun's leaving a fixed star until his reaching it again[3] is as much as thirteen months[4] . . . .[5]

NOTES ON ASTRONOMICAL TERMS, ETC.

A.	Measures	E.	Lunar mansions
B.	Degree and minute	F.	Satavaēsa
C.	The spheres	G.	Vanant
D.	Polaris	H.	Tištryaēnī

A. Measures. The Pahlavi commentators of Sassanian times did not know (and could not be expected to know) the exact value of the measures mentioned in the Avestic texts. Their lack of information is most noticeable in their comments on Av. *hāθra*, the basic OIr. road-measure, the length of which they determined variously as a parasang or a quarter-parasang. This is due to the fact that the measures current in Sassanian Persia were fundamentally different from those employed in ancient times. In the case of the *hāθra* they merely substituted the common road-measures of their own period. For the determination of the real length of the *hāθra* this has as much value as a modern translator's use of the word "mile" equally for, e.g. Russ. Verst and Pers. Farsang.

As regards the measures for short distances, the Avestic system, or rather that of the Vendidad and the Nirangistan, so closely resembles the common Greco-Roman system, as a whole and in all details, that its foreign origin can be taken for granted. It was presumably introduced into Persia by the Macedonian conquerors. The comparative table given below may be of use :—

1 finger	δάκτυλος	Av. *ərəzu* Pahl. *angust* "finger(-breadth)".
2 fingers	κόνδυλος	Av. *baši*, *ẓbiši*,[6] Pahl. *bčk* "joint of a finger".
4 ,,	παλαιστή	Av. *ašti* "*palm".
8 ,,	διχάς	Av. *uz-ašti* ("super-*ašti*") = 2 palms.
10 ,,	λιχάς	Av. *dišti* "short span" (thumb and forefinger).

[1] See *Note H* at the end of this paper.

[2] *miyān-drang*. On *drang* "period" see Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 319, 584.

[3] i.e. a sidereal year.

[4] Read *BYRH-xiii* (in the place of *BYRH-i iii*). Sidereal months are meant here. Thirteen sidereal months (355·17 days) are about as much as twelve synodical months (354·36 days), although rather less than a sidereal year.

[5] The text is corrupt. I have failed to find the correct restitution. One could read *YNSBWN-yt* in the place of *YNSHWN-yt* (or *dōšānēt*), and *ŠBKWN-yt* in the place of *ŠDYTWN-yt*.

[6] Presumably merely different spellings of the same word.

12	,,	*σπιθαμή*	Av. *vitasti*, Pahl. *vitast* "(normal) span".[1]
16	,,	*πούς*	Av. *paδa*, Pahl. *pāy* "foot".[2]
24	,,	*πῆχυς*	Av. *frārāθni*, Pahl. *frārāst* "cubit".
48	,,	*βῆμα* of 3 ft. (Macedonian)	Av. *gāya*, *gāman*, Pahl. *gām* "pace".[3]
96	,,	*ὀργυιά*	Av. *vibāzu* (Pahl. *jud-nāy*) "fathom".[4]
160	,,	*κάλαμος (ἄκαινα)*	Pahl. *nāy* "reed, pole, perch".[5]

Of different origin are the *hāθra* and its multiples, in particular the *tačar-* or *čarətu-* (*čarətā-*). These measures which are mentioned in texts older than the bulk of the Vendidad (Yashts, etc.), are originally Iranian, derived from horse-racing, a peculiarly Iranian sport. A *hāθra* is the length of a racecourse, a *čarətu* is a full round of the course, equalling two *hāθras* (*čarətu* : *hāθra* = *δίαυλος* : *στάδιον*). On Boghazköi *va-ša-an-na* (cf. Parth. *r'št-wzn*, *'xtr-wzn*) = Av. *čarətu-*, *tačar-* (cf. Parth. *tcr*) = MPers. *asprēs*, see Markwart, *Gāthā Ušt.*, p. 3, Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, pp. 169 sq. If we can accept the length indicated by Herzfeld, *l.l.*, p. 170, a *hāθra* would be about 700 metres long (3½ furlongs), roughly the length of the Greek *ἱππικόν* (4 *stadia*).

As stated above, the Pahlavi commentators define the *hāθra* as either the parasang or the quarter-parasang. Thus in the Bundahishn passage (29[1]) translated above: 1 *hāθra* = 1 *frasang-ī paimānīg* = parasang of normal, average length. The word *paimānīg* (from *paimān* "correct measure, not too much and not too little") in connection with measures has the same value as the Greek *μέτριος* (cf. *μ. πῆχυς*, Herodotus, i, 178); it is peculiarly applicable to the parasang the length of which was variable. In *Gr.Bd.* 63[8], [12] *ē frasang* renders the word *hāθra* of Yt. 8[23], [29]. On the other hand,

[1] The height of the average man is eight *vitasti* acc. to the Indian Bundahishn ch. xxvi (= *Gr.Bd.* 162[1] wrongly: six v.), or his own *vibāzu* in *Gr.Bd.* 189[7].

[2] The *Frahang-ī Oīm* chapter on measures (xxvii) opens with the absurd statement that fourteen *angust* were a *paδa*. It should have been obvious that 14 is merely a copyist's error for 16. In the same chapter the *vitasti* is described as of 12 *angust*, and the *frārāst* (= 2 *vitasti*) is defined as 1½ *paδa*. Hence, 1 *paδa* = 16 *angust* (as it should be).

[3] Possibly the pace of 2½ feet (*gradus*) was also known, if *ZK* in *Frah. Oīm*, xxvii a, line 4: *čvanti aētšaya, čand ZK angust*, should be a blunder for the numeral sign for xl (cf. Bartholomae *s.v.*). At any rate, Av. *gāman* is always of 3 feet. An alternative expression for *gāman* is *frabāzu* = ½ *vibāzu*, see Bartholomae *s.v.*

[4] Sogdian *wβ''z* (*Dhyāna* 88) renders Chinese *hsün*, a measure of eight *ch'ih* (each of ten *ts'un* "inches"). In the same passage, Chinese "16 *ch'ih*" is translated as "16 *wyδ't'y*". As F. Weller, *Monumenta Serica*, ii, p. 394, rightly remarks one must conclude that the *wyδ't-* is the eighth part of the *wβ''z* = Av. *vibāzu*, i.e. a span. This agrees with the meaning of connected words in modern East-Iranian dialects (Shighni *wiδēd* "span", etc.), cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL.*, ii, 262. The Sogdian translators took Chin. *ch'ih* for "span", not "foot" (as European translators commonly do).

[5] Common in Pahlavi texts, cf. e.g. Nyberg, ii, 154, *s.v.* *nāδ* (where *nāy-ī paimānīg* should be read = perches of correct measure, or average length). Occasionally, *nāy* is used in the place of *jud-nāy* (thus *Gr.Bd.* 189[8]).

a *hāθra* is the fourth part (*čahār-ēwag*) of a parasang acc. to *Gr.Bd.* 113[4–5]. Referring to the circumference of Yima's Var which is 4 *čarətu* in *Vd.* 2[25], the author of the *Gr.Bd.* states that its eight *hāθras* equal two parasangs (68[9] and 94[6–7]; the numeral signs are somewhat miswritten). A different way of expressing the same relation is used *Gr.Bd.* 161[13/4]: a geographical *hāθra* is a parasang of 1,000 *gām-ī dō pāy*, i.e. 1,000 paces of the two feet = *milia passuum*, as West, *SBE.*, v, 98, correctly translated. It need hardly be said that the translation: 1,000 paces of 2 feet each (as proposed by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 522, and others), although linguistically unobjectionable, is entirely out of the question. In Sassanian times the Persians, of course, were familiar with the Roman mile. According to Zādspram, vi, 8 (K 35, fol. 239r. 2), the minimum-parasang was of 20,000 feet: this is the standard number of *Roman* feet in four Roman miles = one parasang.

Three definitions for the *hāθra* are given in the *Frah. Ōīm*, xxvii (cf. Tavadia, *Šnš.*, 12 sq.): "the medium geographical *hāθra* (A) which one also calls *frasang*, (B) equals 1,000 paces of the two feet, (C) the walking of which is measured as equalling the passing of the time of the medium *hāθra* of the nychthemeron." In other words: (A) *hāθra* = parasang, (B) = quarter-parasang, (C) = parasang. (C) contains the common definition of the parasang as *an hour's way*. This interrelation of time and distance is correct for the parasang, not however for the *hāθra*, the ancient racecourse measure, despite the employment of the word *hāθra* for measures of time which arose in a later period and at a different stage of cultural development.

The same passage shows the true value of the "medium time-*hāθra*", as the *hour*. This can be proved also in a different way. According to much-quoted Pahlavi passages the longest day (night) is of 12 *hāθras*, the shortest day (night) of 6 *hāθras*, i.e. the longest day (night) was defined as of $\frac{16}{24} \times 24 = 16$ hours, the shortest night (day) as of $\frac{8}{24} \times 24 = 8$ hours. The *hāθra* employed here equals $\frac{4}{3}$ hours (1 h. 20 m.), or in other words, it is the *hour* ($\frac{1}{18}$ day) as measured on the longest day. Since we know that the time-*hāθras* were of variable length, we cannot escape the conclusion that they were simply *unequal hours* (ὧραι καιρικαί), i.e. a *hāθra* = the twelfth part of the natural day from sunrise to sunset.[1] This system of *unequal hours* (which from Babylon was introduced

[1] As far as I know this has not been understood before.

in Greece, too) is naturally inconvenient as such hours vary not only from day to day, but also according to the parallel of latitude. To gain an absolute measure of time it is necessary to choose the hour of a fixed day at a certain latitude as the standard unit. While the Babylonians very properly chose the hour of the days of equinox (i.e. the only days of equal length for all latitudes), the Iranians took three hours, viz. the hour of the longest day, the shortest day, and the "medium" day, evidently = equinoctial day. The relation of the lengths of these days is as 16 [1] : 12 : 8, the corresponding *hāθras* are 1 h. 20 m., 1 h., and 40 m. Accordingly, the longest day (of 16 hours) comprises 12 longest *hāθras*, or 16 medium *hāθras*, or 24 shortest *hāθras*. In the *Frahang-i Ōīm*, xxvii b, a scribe has "corrected" these figures and written: the longest day has 12 longest, 18 medium, or 24 shortest *hāθras*, probably because he had in mind the relation of the day-lengths which is indeed 12 : 18 : 24.

B. Degree and minute. The word for "degree" (of a circle) is spelt *sws* here (27[10]). Somewhat contorted it also occurs in the *thema mundi* (51[4]), see Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, p. 326, where a tentative reading (*sing*) is given. In another passage (53[11] sqq.) we have both "degree" and "minute": the maximum elongation of the outer planets is 180 *sws-y* (i.e. *sws* or *swš*) = degrees, that of Mercury is 1,350 (? MSS. 1,850) *lypyh*, and that of Venus 2,831 *lypyh* = minutes (i.e. 22° 30′, and 47° 11′ respectively). It seems that *lypyh* is corrupted from *lyp*<*t*>*yh* = Greek λεπτή "minute" (cf. also Skt. *liptā*, and Chin. *li-to*, see Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité Manichéen*, 160 [184] n.).[2] As to "degree", the Pahlavi word could be analysed in several hundred different ways, but at first sight one would read *sus* or *suš*. Now, in an unpublished Manichæan Sogdian fragment dealing with the movement of the

[1] The longest day is 16 hours long at the latitude of 48° 43′ (obliquity of the ecliptic = 23° 42′, as in the year ± 0), or rather, if "day" = time of visibility of any part of the sun disc, and allowing for refraction, at lat. 47° 20′. Including twilight, the proper latitude would be 37° approx. (allowing 1 h. 24 m. for morning + evening twilight, assumed to begin and end at the sun's zenith distance of 97°); at lat. 36° the longest day + twilight = 15 h. 51 m., and 15 h. 44 m. at lat. 35°. We can perhaps say that the longest day of the Pahlavi texts is based on conditions prevailing in Northern Persia, but that its length was rounded off to be twice that of the shortest night. The shortest day was simply decreed to be of equal length with the shortest night, without having regard to actual conditions. However, the entire scheme may have been borrowed from the Babylonians (cf. e.g. *Book of Enoch*, chaps. 72 sqq.)

[2] This explanation seems preferable to taking *lypyh* (*lpyh*, *lpy'*) for the ideogram for *rēlak* (*rēdag*) "young child" (cf. Bailey, *BSOS.*, vii, 70 sqq.), hence possibly = "small, *minutus*"; the ideogram in question was originally *lpy'* (*rabyā*).

moon, a word *swš* occurs which seems to be "degree" (*w'fryδδ swš xrtyh βwt c'fryδδ ptšm'r wβyh* "the resulting number indicates the number of degrees passed", M 767). It is doubtful if the word can be derived from Greek σῶσσος, Babl. *šuššu* "sixty, a unit of sixty", as the latter does not seem to have been used for "sixty minutes = a degree". The change in the sibilants (*šuššu* : Sogd. *suš* : Pahl. *sus* or *suš*) might be due to dissimilation.[1]

C. The Spheres. The Zoroastrians originally distinguished four spheres: (1) stars, (2) moon, (3) sun, (4) paradise, to which the "station of the clouds" is sometimes added as a fifth and lowest. A *locus classicus* for this division is a passage from the Hadokht Nask *apud* Jamasp-Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 172 (cf. also Barthelemy, *Guj. Ab.*, p. 55): *mānō stārō månhō hvarō anaγra raočå*, Pahlavi translation "cloud-station, star-station, moon-station, etc." (*Air, Wb.*, 1168 *s.v. mānō*, to be corrected accordingly). Cf. Y. 1, 16, etc.

The later scheme of six spheres (or seven, with the "clouds") is due partly to mere juggling with numbers (six Aməša Spəntas, seven with Ohrmazd, etc.; cf. *Gr.Bd.* 194[8] sqq.), but partly to the desire to fit in astrological concepts which (coming from Babylonia) had gained such wide acceptance in Persia that the leaders of the Zoroastrian Church could withhold their official recognition no longer. With this purpose in view the "station of the stars" was split up in two: the "Unmixable Stars" and the "Sphere" *par excellence*, i.e. the sphere of the ecliptic (including the spheres of the planets), which according to the astrologers exercises a far-reaching influence upon terrestrial beings and events. Together with the idea of this sphere (which is entirely alien to the original Zoroastrianism), the word for it was borrowed: Pahl. *spihr*, New Pers. *sipihr* = σφαῖρα. The derivation of *spihr* from Old Iranian which Noeldeke proposed (*Pers. Stud.*, i, 36 sqq.), is not convincing.[2] The *-h-* is due to faulty analogy (*mihr*, widely pronounced *mīr*; hence

[1] Another hitherto unrecognized MPers. word of Babylonian origin is Man. MP. *šwd'b* "companion" (in *h'm-šwd'b*, *BBB.*; differently Bailey, *BSOS.*, ix, 230) = Akkadian *šutapu* (Syr., etc., *šuttāpā*, *šuttāfā*). In unpublished Parthian texts *šwšmyn* "best man (at a wedding)" occurs, also originally Akkadian, cf. Syr. *šūšbīnā*. In MPers. fragments I noticed *m'l'ḫ* "sailor" = Akk. *malaḫu* (Syr. *mallāḥā*).

[2] The name *Spithridates* on which Noeldeke based his opinion, does not prove the existence of an Old Ir. word *spiθra-* "heaven" (anyway, *spihr* is not "heaven", but "sphere", hence also "fate"). For all we know, *Spithridates* could mean "having white teeth, λευκόδους" (Av. *dātā-*, Pahl. *dāt* "tooth"). The first to suggest the identity of *spihr* with σφαῖρα was Lagarde.

spīr > *spihr*).[1] Its unetymological nature is established by the spelling *'spyr* in Manichæan texts.

Besides the Sphere proper, the only other part of the heavens to which the word *spihr* is applied, is the "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", cf. e.g. *Gr.Bd.*, 194[12], *spihr-ī agumēzišn*, *spihr-ī gumēzišnīg* "the sphere free from mixture, and the sphere subject to mixture". This sphere was believed to lie beyond the Sphere proper. Apparently it is based on a stellar zone outside the zone of the ecliptic, to which the "mixed" activities (such as eclipses, the movement of the planets, etc.) are confined. The "General" over this sphere is the Tyche (*Farreh*) of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians,[2] i.e. the deity presiding over and embodying the Zoroastrian Church (the term was borrowed by the Manichæans: MPers. *Farreh-ī Dēn*, Sogd. *δēnī-farn*,[3] Uyγur *Nom-quti*, etc.; the Avestic equivalent is *Vanuhi Daēna Māzdayasniš*, without *x*ᵛ*arənah-*). In other passages (see below) the "Tyche of the Religion" is compared to a girdle around the sky. The word "girdle" naturally suggests the ζώνη[4] of the ecliptic which, however, cannot be meant here. As there is only one other celestial phenomenon that could be likened to a girdle, we have to conclude that the seat of the "Tyche of the Religion" was assumed to be the Milky Way.[5] The "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", therefore, is the *galactic sphere* (i.e. a sphere the greatest circle of which is the Milky Way); it was believed to encase the lower sphere (the greatest circle of which is the ecliptic). The remark on the "lack of computation and precession (?)" (28[9]) is justified; thus, the galactic latitude of a star is not subject to any change (save proper motion).

The paragraph on the "Unmixable Stars" has been translated (somewhat differently) by Nyberg, *JA.*, 1929, i, 298 sq. For a proper understanding it is necessary to consider the parallel passage,

[1] A similar case is possibly provided by the Parthian spelling of *zyncyhr* "chains" (Pers. *zanǰīr*). The routine etymology (**zaina/i-čiθra-*) is proved false by Sogdian *zynčry'kh* (P 2, 1065), in Man. script *jyncry'*. Bailey, *BSOS.*, x, 596, compares Saka *tcaṃgalai*.

[2] Cf. e.g. *DkM.* 130 [1,2]; Antia, *Paz.T.*, 212, *apu*.

[3] In Sogdian this deity is even dubbed *δynmzt'yzn βγyy*, *δēn-mazdayazn βayi* (M 140, unpublished; for the spelling, cf. *mzdyzn* Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, nr. 37, 6, p. 133). The Manichæans, it is well known, unblushingly called their own religion (MPers.) *dyn-m'zdys*, *dēn-māzdēs*.

[4] The Greek word appears in Parthian as *zwnws* (*Mir. Man.*, iii). The spelling is distressing, but not more startling than that of θρόνος in Parthian: *trnys* (ibid., where the translation is wrong).

[5] Under its common Persian designation, the galaxy is briefly referred to 60[5]. The interpretation of *Yasna* 9, 26, by Junker, *Aion-Vorst.*, p. 162, is unacceptable.

71^{4} sqq.: the tenth battle was fought by the Unmixable Stars when they did not let (*ŠBKWN-t*) the darkness and sinfulness carry their pollution higher up. As HE says: "He put on the Tyche of the Good Religion of the Mazdayasnians like a girdle, i.e. like a *kustīg*, decked with stars, by spirits made, three-fold with four knots, around the sky in that station." These stars were fighting in <her> company until the end. *As I have written above,*[1] *there it is called "the Corps of the Immortals", demonstrating*[2] *purity in the mixed state.* The comparison to the *kustīg* is further elaborated 193^{11} sqq. The Avestan passage quoted here is very similar to *Yasna* 9, 26. See also *Dd.*, *Purs.* xxxviii, 14 sqq. (pp. 117 sq. Anklesaria).

In the preceding pages, *mādiyān-razm* (or *mādiyān-ī razm*) has been rendered: the Corps of the Immortals (Nyberg, loc. cit., *le livre de la bataille*). It seems to me that *mādiyān-razm* is a variation on the Sassanian designation of the "Immortals" which is known to us only from Armenian sources, as *gund-n matean*, or *matenik gund-n* (see Huebschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, 192). The "Sphere of the Unmixable Stars", interposed between the higher heavens and the zone of the dark powers, constitutes the last line of defence for the Light; hence, some such term as "the Guards" seems a fitting description. The literal meaning of *mādiyān-razm* is presumably "the core of the battle-line" (*gund-n matean* = "the principal battalion"). *mādiyān* "essential, basic, core, capital" (frequent in the Dinkard; Zaehner, *BSOS.*, ix, 305^{19}, 306^{55}, 309^{11}, etc., rightly translates "chiefly") should be kept distinct from *mādiyān* "book" (cf. Nyberg, *Mazd. Kal.*, 58), originally "*commemorabilia, memoriae*" as Bartholomae, *Mir. Mund.*, v, 16 sq., assumed (now corroborated by a Sogdian gloss, *BBB.*, p. 128 *s.v.* *m'rδnyy*, where the remark on *gund-n matean* is to be cancelled).

D. Polaris. The correct reading of the Pahlavi name of the Polar Star has been established by S. H. Taqizadeh (loc. laud., 330 sqq.): *Gāh* and *Mēχ-ī Gāh*, while *Mēχ-ī miyān āsmān* (an alternative name of the Polar Star according to *Gr.Bd.* 27^{3}, 52^{2}, etc.) properly should be "zenith", *Mēχ-ī azēr zamīg* being "nadir". It seems to me that a similar designation of the poles or the Polar Star can be traced in the Avesta. Av. *marəzu* has been suspected of bein

[1] Thus the author of the Bundahishn refers the reader to the passage of the second chapter. Read *cygwn* < *ZK-y* > *NPŠH npšt*, cf. 135^{6} *et passim.*

[2] *blynnd* (DH. *blynd*) is not clear. It should be the equivalent of *paidāgīh* (28^{3}). Read *barēnd*?

the name of a star; or a constellation, by most interpreters of the Avesta (see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.*, 1174). Unfortunately the Pahlavi translation of Vd. 19, 42 (the only passage where *mərəzu* is found) is lost, but the New Persian version adduced by Hoshang Jamasp, *Vendidad*, p. 640, gives *Gāh* = Polar Star. Furthermore, *mərəzu* would be the ideal etymon of Ormuri *mažwai*, Pashto *mōẓ̌ai* "peg" (cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP.*, 50, and *NTS.*, v, 24). Hence, the ordinary meaning of *mərəzu* apparently was the same as that of Pahl. *mēχ*, Arab. *watad*, etc. This would also furnish a satisfactory explanation of Av. *mərəzu-* "vertebra" (Kurd., etc., *mul*, *mil*, etc., "neck") as from "peg, pivot". It seems likely that *mərəzu*, as "pole", is a translation of Greek *πόλος* "pivot, axis, pole"; the Avestan passage in which *mərəzu* is found, is certainly of no great antiquity.

Bartholomae took *mərəzu* Vd. 19, 42, to be in the dual number; we could translate: "the two poles." However, the epithet accompanying *mərəzu*: "the best fighter among the creatures of both spirits," is obviously well suited to the Polar Star, the "General of Generals". There is no need for examining Hertel's rendering of *mərəzu* ("Venus") which has already been refuted by B. Geiger, *WZKM.*, xlv, 109 sqq.

E. Lunar Mansions. In Iranian, we have four lists of the Lunar Mansions: that of the Bundahishn in Pazend, a Sogdian list in Beruni's *Chronology* (p. 240), a Khwarezmian one given by the same authority (ibid.), and the list published by Freiman, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 2(3), 1938, 43 sqq., from a Sogdian manuscript. Freiman's list is *throughout* [1] *identical with Beruni's Khwarezmian list* (this has not been clearly recognized by the editor), so that for Sogdian we are left solely with Beruni's indications. An unpublished Manichæan Sogdian MS. (M 549) contained a further list, but only

[1] i.e. wherever the reading is sufficiently clear to enable one to judge. One name (No. 15) has been left out in Freiman's manuscript, evidently by mistake (owing to the similarity of the following name). There are, however, some small differences in the *form* of the names, those in Beruni's book showing traits typical of Khwarezmian, those in Freiman's list having a distinctly Sogdian aspect. Several of these variations are due merely to the different age of the two lists. Thus we have: No. 12 Fr. *wγšprn* = Ber. *'χšfrn* (*uχšafarn*), No. 9 Fr. *mγ'* = Ber. *'mγ*, No. 17 Fr. *δ'r'nt* = Ber. *δ'rynd* (*δārend*), etc. Noteworthy is No. 13 Fr. *'strwšk* or *'štrwšk* = Ber. *šwšk*, the latter form recurring in late Uyγur lists which otherwise give merely the Skt. names, for Skt. *Viśākhā* (No. 14), see Rachmati, *T.T.*, vii, p. 55 (on 1, 18). For No. 24 Freiman's list gives a shortened form, *βrwγšt* = Beruni Khw. *frχšbyθ* = Beruni Sogd. *frštb'θ* (all adapted from Skt. [*pūrva-*]*proṣṭhapada*). Beruni uses an abbreviation for No. 25, *wbyr*, in the place of *wbyr-frχšbyθ* = Fr. *prw-βrwγšt* = Beruni Sogd. *pr-fršt* (also shortened) = Man. Sogd. *prw-frwxšpδ*; *wbyr* = *ubir* is the late Khwarezmian form of the same word as Sogd. *prw-* (= Skt. *uttara-*), *Av. aparam*.

a few words from its end are preserved. We learn that the total number of the mansions was 28 (*ii qmbyy xxx pt̰šmyrṯyy = duodetriginta*), and that the mansions of *m'sy'g = Pisces* were [*frwxš*] *pδδ prw frwxšpδ 'ṯyy* [*ryw'*] *ndyy* [1] = Nos. 24, 25, 26 of Beruni's list. This shows that the Manichæan catalogue began with No. 27 = Skt. *Aśvinī*, like the Bundahishn, while Freiman's list and the two lists given by Beruni commenced with the Pleiades = Skt. *Kṛttikāḥ*.[2] For the identification of individual mansions it is important to know that Beruni's Sogdian list agrees most closely of all with Skt. This is manifest in those cases where the name was borrowed from Skt. Thus we have [3] :—

Skt. No. 8 *Maghā* = Sogd. No. 8 *mγ* but No. 9 in Khw. and Fr.
Skt. No. 26 *Revatī* = Sogd. No. 26 *rēwand*, but No. 27 in Khw. and Fr.

It is a matter for regret that with few exceptions (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, in *Gr.Bd.* 30^7, 51^4, 61^{11}, 72^5, etc.) the names of the Pahlavi lunar mansions are preserved only in a Pazend transcription on which West, *SBE.*, v, 11, n. 3, rightly remarked: "the Pazend names are so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon them, etc." Lists of the Pazend forms (here not repeated) are available *apud* West, ibid., and Taqizadeh, loc. cit., 204 sqq.

The first point to be settled is the number of the mansions in Pahlavi. It is not twenty-eight as West assumed on the strength of the numeral characters in the Indian Bundahishn, but twenty-seven. The two available MSS. of the Great Bd. write xxvii. Taken by itself this is of little or no value as all copyists of Pahlavi texts were in the habit of writing numeral signs according to their own lights. More important is that there are only twenty-seven names; for the last words, Paz. *kahtsar vaht miyān kaht*, evidently represent only three names (not four), viz. *kaht-sar*, **kaht-miyān*, *kaht* = the head of K.,[4] the middle of K., K. *par excellence*. A similar set of names occurs in the middle of the list where in the place of *nahn miyān avdəm* (Nos. 10, 11, 12) we have to restore: *naχw*, *miyān*, *abdum* = beginning, middle, and end, viz. of *Leo*.

[1] The question whether the Manich. catalogue agreed with Beruni's Sogdian list, or with his Khwarezmian list and that of Freiman's manuscript, depends solely on the acceptance of this rather doubtful restitution.

[2] Of Rachmati's Uyγur fragments, some start with *Kṛttikāḥ*, some with *Aśvinī*; the Arabs began with *aš-šaraṭān* = *Aśvinī*.

[3] But Skt. No. 23 *Śatabhiṣaj* = Sogd. No. 22 *sdmyš* (? Sachau *šδmšyr*) = Fr. No. 22 *stmyš* = Khw. No. 22 *sdmysyj*.

[4] "*Kaht*" = name of a constellation. The transcribed form suggests *Cetus* (κῆτος, Syr. *q'ṭ'* and *qyṭ'*), but this works out only moderately well.

A passage from the third book of the Dinkard (403[11] sqq., ed. Madan), recently translated by Nyberg (*Mazd. Kal.*, 34 sqq.), gives the lunar mansions within which the first points of Aries, Cancer, Libra, and Capricornus lay.[1] Aries began with *Plyspl*,[2] clearly = Pahl. *Ptyspl*, *Ptspl*, Paz. *Padēvar*, the first lunar mansion according to the Bundahishn (= Skt. *Aśvinī*). In other words, the lunar mansions were counted from the point of the vernal equinox. Now, if the number of the mansions were twenty-eight the first point of Cancer would coincide with the beginning of the eighth lunar mansion (since seven mansions = 90° exactly), but it should fall within the seventh mansion if the total number was twenty-seven (one mansion $= \frac{360°}{27} = 13° 20'$, hence the seventh mansion from 80° to 93° 20′). The latter is the case according to the Dinkard :

Aries . .	0° "*Plyspl*"	= Bd. "*Padēvar*"	No. 1 =	0°·00– 13°·33
Cancer .	90° "*Lhyt*"	= Bd. "*Rahvat*"[3]	No. 7 =	80°·00– 93°·33
Libra . .	180° "*Stl*"	= Bd. "*Spur*"[4]	No. 14 =	173°·33–186°·66
Capricornus .	270° "*TWR'*"	= Bd. "*Gå*"[5]	No. 21 =	266°·66–279°·99

When the system of the lunar mansions was (from India) introduced into Persia, a completely new set of names was created. As in India, the names were taken from the most prominent stars or constellations in the neighbourhood of the ecliptic that were found within the limits of longitude (progressing by 13° 20′) prescribed by the system. While after the introduction the system probably was applied mechanically merely as a mode of indicating the longitude, it is highly improbable that at the moment of introduction the longitude of the parent stars should not have been within the limits of longitude required by the lunar mansions which took their names from those stars. This is the minimum to be expected from the adaptation, namely that the system should have been made to fit the sky.

If this point is conceded it will be possible to determine the time when the lunar mansions were brought into use in Persia, provided a sufficient number of their names can be identified satisfactorily. Proceeding from No. 3 *Parwīz* = Pleiades, we have

[1] Nyberg has not seen that the passage refers to the lunar mansions.
[2] Presumably misspelling.
[3] = Pahl. **lhwt*. It is difficult to say which form (*lhwt* or *lhyt* ?) is right.
[4] = Pahl. **spwl* ; *stl* probably incorrect.
[5] Pahl. *gāw* = ideogr. *TWR'*. *DkM*. has *twy twr'* (Nyberg's **dil-gāv*), but *twy* should be cancelled (the scribe miswrote *twy* in the place of *TWR'*, and corrected himself without striking out the wrong form).

No. 4 = Aldebaran, No. 5 *Azēsar*[1] (presumably translation of Skt. *Mṛga-śiras*) = λ′ *Orionis*, etc., No. 6 *Baśn* = Betelgeuse, No. 7 probably = Castor and Pollux. Further on, No. 10 **Naχw* most likely = Regulus, and No. 20 undoubtedly = Vega (see below *Note G*). The preceding mansion, No. 19, is the "sting of the scorpion" (λ, κ, θ *Scorpii*, etc.), see below *Note F*, and No. 22, **Yōγ*,[2] probably represents Altair. The table below gives the longitudes of these stars (or of one of them where the name refers to a cluster of stars) for the Sassanian period[3]; at its margin the reader will find the number of the corresponding Pahlavi lunar mansions (col. 1), and the limits of their longitudes (col. 2):—

			A.D. 300	A.D. 400	A.D. 500	A.D. 600	A.D. 700
3	26°·66– 39°·99	η *Tauri*	36°·34	37°·72	39°·11	40°·49	41°·88
4	40°·00– 53°·33	α *Tauri*	46°·10	47°·49	48°·89	50°·28	51°·68
5	53°·33– 66°·66	λ′ *Orionis*	60°·04	61°·43	62°·81	64°·20	65°·58
6	66°·66– 79°·99	α *Orionis*	65°·08	66°·47	67°·86	69°·26	70°·65
7	80°·00– 93°·33	α *Geminorum*	86°·63	88°·02	89°·40	90°·79	92°·18
10	120°·00–133°·33	α *Leonis*	126°·29	127°·67	129°·04	130°·42	131°·80
19	240°·00–253°·33	λ *Scorpii*	240°·94	242°·32	243°·71	245°·09	246°·48
20	253°·33–266°·66	α *Lyrae*	261°·54	262°·93	264°·31	265°·71	267°·12
22	280°·00–293°·33	α *Aquilae*	277°·84	279°·24	280°·65	282°·05	283°·46

A glance at this table shows that the date which fits best is about A.D. ± 500. A *terminus post quem* is provided by No. 6 (A.D. 413 approx.), and No. 22 (A.D. 454 approx.), whilst a *terminus ante quem* is given by No. 3 (A.D. 564 approx.), and No. 20 (A.D. 668 approx.). We know from other sources that under Sassanian rule there were two periods of contact with Greek and Indian science during which the study of astronomy was promoted: one under Shapur I after the conclusion of the Roman war,[4] the other "towards the end of the Sassanian period", possibly under Khosrou I or even a little earlier.[5] We may conclude that the introduction of the Pahlavi lunar mansions took place during the second period.[6] Incidentally,

[1] = "goat's head"? However, the reading of *'pysr* = "crown" is equally possible.

[2] Pazend *gōī*. In Pahlavi script, *gōy* "ball" and *yōγ* "yoke" are indistinguishable. I read *Yōγ* because that is the name of the equivalent (21st) Sogdian and Khwarezmian lun. man. (corresponding to Skt. No. 21 *Śravaṇa* = Altair). The longitude of the 22nd Pahlavi l.m. is 280°–293° 20′, that of the 21st Sogdian mansion should be 282° 53′–295° 45′.

[3] Based on the values for right ascension and declination (interval of 100 years) in Neugebauer's Tables (*Chr.* I).

[4] See S. H. Taqizadeh, *BSOS.*, ix, 133 sqq.

[5] See Nallino's paper in *A volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, and cf. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 316–322; *BSOS.*, ix, 136 sq.

[6] This conclusion, however, is necessarily based on the assumption that the Persian astronomers were able to find the point of the vernal equinox and to measure the longitudes fairly accurately, and that they exercised some care in fixing the lunar mansions.

we would gain a valuable date *post quem* for a number of hitherto undatable Pahlavi passages in which the lunar mansions are involved, such as the *thema mundi* in the Bundahishn.[1]

F. Satavaēsa. There are nearly as many opinions on the identity of this star as translators of the Avesta. Perhaps the most plausible view so far advanced is that Satavaēsa is Canopus, Suhail (proposed by Kharegat and accepted by Taqizadeh). The main objection to this identification lies in the great southern declination of Suhail, by reason of which it cannot be seen north of lat. 37° approx. Those scholars who are inclined to find the "home of the Avesta" in North-Eastern Iran (e.g. in Merv), will be unable to accept Kharegat's opinion. As far south as Balkh (lat. 36° 46′) where in 500 B.C. it was above the horizon for only 1 h. 9 m. on any one day, at a maximum altitude of not more than 19 *minutes*, Canopus may have been sighted under exceptionally favourable circumstances, but was certainly not fitted for the role of the "General of the South". Moreover, Satavaēsa occurs as part of the designation of a Sogdian lunar mansion, No. 17, *myn-Sdwys*, and there is no doubt that Canopus never has been (nor ever will be) observed in Sogdiana. The 17th Sogdian lunar mansion corresponds to the 17th Indian lunar mansion, *mūla*, to the 19th Pahlavi lunar mansion, "*grafša*,"[2] and to the 19th Arabian lunar mansion, *aš-šaulah* all of which refer to the "sting of the scorpion" (Ar. *mi'bar al-'aqrab*). Although the meaning of Sogdian *myn* (possibly misspelt) is not known, we may safely infer that *myn-Sadwēs* is a kind of appendix to that star (or constellation) that bore the name of *Sadwēs*. Since the "sting of the scorpion" forms an appendix to the "scorpion", it follows that *Sadwēs* is *Scorpio*, or rather the

[1] The ascendant is given as *Cancer* 19°, the time being noon of the day of the vernal equinox. At that moment Sirius was rising. Should these data reflect actual conditions (correctly observed), it should be possible to determine the latitude of the observer, and the date of the observation. So far as I have been able to calculate the latitude would be 40° 33′, the time BC. ± 330 (a point $\lambda = 109°$, $\beta = 0°$ is rising, or $\alpha = 110° \, 37'$, $\delta = +22° \, 22'$; hence $\phi = 40° \, 33'$; Sirius' hour angle at rising = its right ascension; position of Sirius in BC. 330: $\alpha = 75°{\cdot}6$, $\delta = -16°{\cdot}24$). The result (Northern Sogdiana at the time of Alexander's invasion) is rather unsatisfactory, probably because the data are unreliable.

[2] Presumably misreading of *drafšag* (1) "banner," (2) "hem," but most suitably (3) "awl" = NPers. *dirafš*, *durōš* "awl". The names of the preceding lunar mansions are (in Pazend): No. 16 *srōb*, *srōi*, *srub*, No. 17 *nur*, *nōr*, No. 18 *gelu*, *gaelu*. I should like to suggest the following restorations: No. 16 *srūy* "claws", No. 17 *var* "breast, front", No. 18 *dil* "heart", namely of *Scorpio*. Note that the Arabic name of No. 18 is also "heart" (*qalb*). [No. 16, Persian *du surūyi gaždum*, Beruni, Pers. *Tafhīm*, p. 111; cf. Greek *χηλαὶ τοῦ Σκορπίου*, Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, i, 9, p. 24 (p. 50 ed. Robbins, 1940); *ibid.*, "*grafša*" = *κέντρον* = *niš-i gaždum*.]

chief star of that group, namely Antares. The identity of Satavaēsa with Antares had already been suggested by West, *SBE.*, v, 12 sq. (although from erroneous premisses). The altitude of Antares in culmination was 35° 52′ in Balkh (40° approx. in Babylon) in 501 B.C., and 33° 33′ in Balkh (37° 49′ in Babylon) in 1 B.C.

G. Vanant. There is *iǰmāʿ* on the identity of this star, viz. = Vega. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī*, 335, n. 470, has already drawn attention to the appearance of *Vanant* in the list of the Sogdian lunar mansions, No. 20 (*Vanand*). The equivalent Indian lunar mansion is No. 20 *Abhijit* = Vega. But *Vanant* is also employed as the name of one of the Pahlavi lunar mansions, namely No. 20. The Pazend form is *Varant* = Pahlavi *wlnd*, a common Pahlavi spelling of *Vanant* (showing dissimilation *n-n* : *r-n*). The equation of *Varant* = Vega has already been utilized in *Note E* above.

H. Tištryaēnī. Since *Tištrya* is *Canis major*, *Tištryaēnī* would appear to be *Canis minor*. According to a much discussed passage in the Tištr Yasht (*Yt.* 8, 12), *Tištryaēnī* is one of the *afščiθra* stars, i.e. stars whose heliacal rising presages the advent of the rainy season. Tištrya itself, the Pleiades, and *Upapaoirī* are other *afščiθra* stars. A line in the Great Bundahishn provides some elucidation: "The *āp-čihrag* (= Av. *afščiθra*) stars are: *Tištr, Tlyšk,* "*Padevar,*" *Pēš-Parwīz*, and the six stars that are called *Parwīz* (Pleiades)" (72[5]). With the exception of "*Padevar*" (the first lunar mansion), these are the same stars as the ones mentioned in the Tištr Yasht, hence *Upapaoirī* = *Pēš-parwīz* "the stars in front of the Pleiades" (the second Pahlavi lunar mansion), and *Tištryaēnī* = *Tlyšk*. This effectively disposes of the usual identification of *Upapaoirī* with Aldebaran, which Andreas (*apud* Lommel, *ZII.*, v, 58) supported by referring to the Sogdiano-Khwarezmian name of Aldebaran; that, however, was not *b'brw* (*p'prw*) as Sachau's Beruni MSS. have, but *prprw* (*brbrw*) as we have learned from Freiman's list (where *prprw'k*) = "the star following upon the Pleiades".[1] As regards *Tlyšk*, this is one of the numerous possible readings of the Pahlavi characters which the Pazendist was pleased to read as *Taraha*. And "*Taraha*" is the name of the eighth Pahlavi lunar mansion the longitude of which is 93° 20′–106° 40′. In A.D. 500 the longitude of Procyon, the chief star of *Canis minor*, was 95° 14′, i.e. at that time Procyon was eligible as the leading star of the eighth lunar mansion. Now, the name of

[1] [Persian *pas-ravande-i Parvīn*, Beruni, Pers. *Tafhīm*, p. 108.]

the corresponding Khwarezmian lunar mansion (No. 6 = Skt. *Tiṣya/Puṣya*) is *tsyry*, apparently not different from the Khwarezmian form of Old Ir. *Tištrya* (also spelt *tsyry*). It seems clear that this *tsyry* derives from a prototype similar to *tištrya-* (e.g. *tištryā-* or *tištryaka-*) which had the same meaning as Av. *tištryaēnī* (note the absence of the same suffix in the Khwarezmian form of Av. *paoiryaēnī* which is *prwy*). The same prototype will serve also for Pahlavi *Tlyšk*, presumably = *Trišag*. Phonetically, one could compare Jewish Persian *trwš* "ram" which is connected with Man. MPers. *twštr* (*nrmyš, twštr, "hwg* in an unpublished fragment of the *Kawān*), cf. Rišahri *tištār* "she-goat", or Man. MPers. *Zrdrwšt*.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

CTESIAS AND INDIAN MANNA, ADDENDA

Two notes are required on my article with the above title published in the *Journal* for January, 1942. In the first place I have since found a passage in Pliny's *Natural History*, xxxvii, 46, which indisputably shows similar confusion between amber and the "manna" of the Indian pine. Talking of amber, he remarks that it is found in India and adds the following sentence as his authority, *Archelaus qui regnavit in Cappadocia illinc pineo cortice adhaerente tradit advehi rude polirique adipe suis lactentiis incoctum*, which may be translated, "Archelaus who ruled in Cappadocia reports that it (sc. amber) is brought thence (i.e. from India) in a rough state with the pinebark adhering to it and that it is polished with grease (?, possibly 'sapwood') after being cooked (or immersed) in its own milky juices." It seems impossible that this should refer to Burmese amber, as hesitatingly suggested by Warmington (*Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, 256), the references to pinebark being conclusive.

Secondly, for the explanation of Ctesias's *sitachora* or *siptachora* my first attempt was to connect it with Avestan *khšvipta*, "milk," the parallel with the current name *shirkhisht* being striking, but the difficulties seemed insuperable. Professor Bailey has, however, brought certain references to my notice which make discussion desirable. The same idea had already occurred to G. Morgenstierne (*Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, 72, s. *šaudə*), and the Iranian forms of this word were discussed by Charpentier in *Monde Oriental*, xviii, 36 ff. Though there is no proof that the Avestan word or a derivative from it had the sense "sweet", which Ctesias's translation demands, there is, besides the analogy of Persian *šīrīn* from *šīr*, the existence in Middle Persian of *šyftg*, "sweet," a formation from Parthian *šift*, "milk" (Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 88), and there might therefore have been a similar derivative in Avestan and Old Persian which has not come down to us; but, if *sipta* reproduces it, it is curious that it would correspond better to the original word than to a derivative. The transliteration of the initial compound consonant by plain Greek *s* instead of *x* is also difficult; in later

Iranian dialects this initial is often reduced, as in the instance just quoted, to *š* which would presumably have been rendered by Greek *s* and we should have to assume that this simplification had already taken place in Old Persian by 400 B.C., for which evidence appears to be lacking. There further remains the second half of the name for explanation, and the only possible Iranian derivation seems to be from the root *khvar*, "eat," which is not particularly convincing. I prefer to stand therefore by my original suggestion of *citakhāra*, which is to some extent strengthened by the above reference from Pliny.

†E. H. JOHNSTON.

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KAṆAISKA

After my paper *Kaṇaiska*, *JRAS.*, 1942, 14–28, was in print I saw that the passage from Ch ii 004 quoted on p. 17 did not contain the proper name *Kaṇaiska*. Clearly no lacuna need be assumed. Instead, the word *kaṇaiska* in the context should be rendered "little finger". Such a word has not been found elsewhere in Khotanese, but its etymological connections are obvious in the *kan-* of Av. *kanyā-*, Skt. *kanyā*, *kaniṣṭhá*, Greek *καινός*. In *-aiska* a diminutive suffix may be preserved. In other Iranian sources also the "little finger" receives not a number, but a special name: Pahlavi *ān ī andak* ⟨*angust*⟩ (Greater Bundahišn 100.12); *ān ī kas angust* (ibid., 73.13); *ān ī kasist angust* (Pahlavi translation of Vid. 6.10) = Av. *kasištahe ərəzvō*; NPers. *kamīn*; Munjānī *kandərá*; *kándir ǝgúškikǝ* (Zarubin, Iran I 149). The name *Kaniṣka* may perhaps be explained by this Khotanese word as "the little one", a hypocoristic use; or the Khotanese translator may simply have assimilated the spelling of the name *Kaṇaiska* to the word for "the little one", the little finger.

H. W. BAILEY.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

THE BOOK OF MENCIUS (abridged). Translated from the Chinese by LIONEL GILES. 7 × 5, pp. 128. John Murray: Wisdom of the East Series, 3s. 6d. net.

The editors of this valuable series of translations have done well to include the present volume.

The form of the series has necessitated drastic abridgment, and Dr. Giles's book of 120 pages represents little more than half the original. There is no index, the notes are reduced to a minimum, and the book purports to give only a general idea of the teaching and philosophy of Mencius. In this it succeeds. Dr. Giles's succinct preface forms an excellent introduction, and he is to be congratulated on having done a difficult task wisely and well, for though much of the matter omitted can ill be spared, the passages selected are those most calculated to interest the average reader.

Mencius, a contemporary of Aristotle, was born about the year 372 B.C. The ancient feudal system of China was then fast decaying, to be replaced after many years of civil war by the despotism which has lasted till recent times. The country was divided into numerous petty states, each nominally feudal but really independent and struggling for supremacy, and in the resulting chaos the people suffered as an agricultural population always must in such times.

At the age of forty Mencius emerged from an obscurity on which nothing but tradition throws any light. Inspired by a hatred of war and by compassion for the sufferings of the people, he spent about twenty years in going from state to state exhorting the rulers to good government. As a teacher he was, like other teachers, a failure. He was an idealist and an egocentric, and his doctrine made no allowance for the fallibility of human nature. He even denied it. All men are born good, he taught, and only become evil as the result of *external* and adverse circumstances. He thus neglected the influence of heredity; but in the case of his own people, at least, his doctrine was largely sound. The Chinese are so fully occupied with the soil that there is normally a remarkable absence of crime in the country except in times of famine and stress when men are driven by hunger to deeds of violence. In living

memory there was no army and no police in the country. Nor were these necessary, for the basis of good behaviour was "face", the fear of public censure and scandal, rather than force as among ourselves. And in China political disturbance has always been caused rather by empty stomachs than by faulty rulers. As Mencius said (Waley's paraphrase), "If beans and pulse were as plentiful as fire and water, there would not be such a thing as a bad man in the country."

Among the reforms which Mencius advocated were lighter taxation, the cultivation for public benefit of private park land, the extension of education and government help for aged people. He held that a state which abolished famine by wise laws and mild taxation would become strong more surely and quickly than by waging war.

Mencius's advice, however, was unheeded; and at the age of 60 he retired to spend the remaining twenty years of his life in recording his experiences and his teaching, hoping no doubt to give posterity the help rejected by his contemporaries.

It is impossible here to do more than outline so interesting a subject, but those who read Dr. Giles's book will be encouraged to pursue a study attractive alike to students of philosophy and of Chinese history.

B. 730. E. B. HOWELL.

LITTLE CHINA. THE ANNAMESE LANDS. By ALAN HOUGHTON BRODRICK. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 332. Oxford University Press, 1942. 18s.

A Scotch lady once asked me if I did not think Annamesẽ women the most beautiful in the world, and those of us who have travelled in Indo-China will know that Asia has probably no country of its size with a finer collection of attractive races or with more delightful and varied scenery. So it is appropriate that the first English travel book to deal exclusively with the lands of Annamese speech should aim at wrapping the meat of a Baedeker in some of the artistry of *The Gentleman in the Parlour*. "China even at its shabbiest and most unimpressive, is always civilized in a classical unsentimental way" (p. 53). "In their entire absence of inferiority complex, the Chinese are not Orientals at all, neither are they inscrutable, they are just superbly civilized, incredulous and not a little cruel"

(p. 141). How few scholars can say so much with such economy of words.

The development of the travel-book would make an agreeable study. Hakluyt's voyages are spiced with the credulity of their age and a Mendez Pinto proneness to exaggeration. "I know the length of the Emperor of China's foot," boasts Sir Sampson Legend. "I have kissed the Great Mogul's slipper and rid a-hunting upon an elephant with the Cham of Tartary. Body o' me I have made a cuckold of a king and the present majesty of Bantam is the issue of these loins." The style to-day is sometimes more democratic than when Congreve ridiculed travellers' tales in *Love for Love*, but the fashion of cosmopolitan omniscience riots in these pages as in all contemporary travel-books. The caviare at Lang-son "seemed to me the best I had ever tasted out of Europe, except the Caspian caviare they give you in great dollops at the Baghdad hotels" (p. 72). The great prawns at Sam-son "are as sweet and toothsome and even larger than those you get on the Moroccan coast at Fedhala" (p. 82). "No Tongkingese gullet can emit the imperative raucous barks of the Spanish *bondieuserie* vendor" (p. 103). This form of travellers' vanity is catching, and when Mr. Brodrick paints the hills on the road to Yu-kiang rising sheer out of the ground "as though the sea had been emptied and you were walking on its flat bottom" (p. 68) I feel an irresistible temptation to add that the image fits perfectly the landscape between Shahreza and Teheran. What is often hard to stomach in books of travel are those gobbets from encyclopædias and tit-bits from Freud and Havelock Ellis which Aldous Huxley has made our inevitable fare. One passage (p. 11) here Richard Burton would have cloaked in Latin, and the ugliness of another (p. 59) is not concealed by that language. As for the encyclopædic side Mr. Brodrick appears to have unearthed no articles on Annamese folk verse or fables, and has wilfully abjured contemporary politics, economics, administration, and education, while, if I may say it in a learned journal, he as a professed traveller gives rather large chunks of ancient history and finds a King Charles's head in the prehistoric skull. The picaresque style of Belloc makes it palatable to swallow, along with the mistral, memories of Froissart and *obiter dicta* on Spinoza, but when the authentic touch is absent, as it often is from travellers' pages, one wonders if the meat of Defoe or of Alexander Hamilton is not more digestible than a

bouillebaisse of all the ingredients prescribed in the modern *recipé* for a book of travel. One reflects with a shock that if the cinema news-reel instead of Gibbon and Macaulay had dominated the Georgian and Victorian scenes, works like Raffles's *Java* and Marsden's *Sumatra* and Lane's *Modern Egyptians* would have been olla podridas, more difficult to consult and less easy to skip. Of course the modern pose of the discursive traveller, if dishonest, is convenient because no one can now take all knowledge for his province, and the traveller, unlike the scholar, can claim that no valise can contain a complete library. But this is no reflection on Mr. Brodrick whose Bibliography cites most of the relevant authorities except Dr. G. de Hevesy's criticism of Father Schmidt's Austric family of languages. And talking of linguistic affinities the Cham proverb that one may as well leave a man alone with a girl as an elephant in a field of sugar-cane (p. 264) is a saying common among Malays.

There are a few lively lights on French colonial technique (pp. 68, 100, 163–4) and on the European in the East (pp. 155, 158), but it is likely that Japanese tyranny may disprove the contention that the Oriental would rather be harshly governed by another Oriental than well governed by a European. The most topical passage (p. 97) is a remark by an Irishman: "The British Empire seems to me a necessary evil. Its moral disadvantages are all supported by the British and its material advantages are shared by all the world."

An excellent book with charming illustrations, soon, one hopes, to be followed by a volume promised on Cambodia. On p. 27 Chandi is spelt variously *Candi* and *Tjandi* in two consecutive lines, and on p. 308 *Noone* should be read for *Nunn*. I am sorry that the British liking for hissing sibilants (which makes even railway companies prefer "*whilst* the train is moving") has led the author to employ the form *Annamese* instead of *Annamite*. And it would be interesting to learn the authority for Mr. Brodrick's statement that the sequence of prehistoric races in the Far East has been well worked out in the Philippines, where such research has in fact been quite negligible.

B. 736. R. O. WINSTEDT.

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Near East

EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE, UMAYYADS, EARLY ABBĀSIDS, AND ṬŪLŪNIDS. By K. A. C. CRESWELL, F.S.A., Hon.A.R.I.B.A. Part II, Early Abbāsids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Ṭūlūnids, and Samānids, A.D. 751–905. With contributions by FÉLIX HERNÁNDEZ, GEORGES MARÇAIS, 'ABD AL FATTĀḤ ḤILMĪ, and ḤASAN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB. 18 × 13¼, pp. xxvi and 415, pls. 123, figs. 261. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1940. £10 10s. net.

The author tells us that this concluding part of his encyclopædic work contains a study of every known Muslim monument belonging to the period with which it deals. The monuments are scattered over the lands of the early caliphate from Bukhārā to Spain. Creswell has received valuable help from collaborators and owes much to previous workers in Mesopotamia, particularly to Herzfeld and Reuther, but there is hardly a building mentioned which has not been studied by him on the spot and a large number of the splendid plans and photographs are his own. Some of the monuments are now illustrated for the first time; in the accounts of others, the mosque of 'Amr at Fosṭāṭ, the Nilometer on Rōḍa island, and the cistern at Ramla in Palestine, the author has embodied fresh material from clearances made at his instigation by Government Departments. Years of resolute work, often in the teeth of great difficulties, have gone to the making of this volume, buildings have been examined and re-examined, measurements checked, literary sources exhaustively sifted. The first volume was rightly said to constitute a landmark in the history of Near Eastern studies and it has now been worthily completed. The work is indispensable to students alike of architecture and of history.

Every known Muslim monument belonging to the period, including some known only from literature and the architectural origins of the more interesting forms, that is the scope of this volume. Chapter I deals with the original plan of Baghdād and the fortifications, palace, and mosque of Manṣūr of about A.D. 762–7: a miḥrāb in the Syrian Umayyad style that may come from Manṣūr's mosque is the only surviving monument discussed. The two following chapters treat of other remains of the early 'Abbāside period, the city at Raqqa rebuilt by Manṣūr on the Baghdād model in 772, the stone-built palace at Ukhaiḍir described by Miss Bell, and some other sites in the same region with buildings erected (according to

Creswell) after 775–6. Chapter IV contains a disquisition on the squinch before 700. A most illuminating study of the Aqṣā mosque in Jerusalem follows, with a discussion of its wooden panels by G. Marçais. Chapter VI is divided into two parts, the first devoted to the great mosque at Cordova, the cistern at Ramla in Palestine (789), and remains at Ḥīra and Hiraqla; the second to the Ribāṭ at Sūsa in North Africa (821–2), and the reconstruction of the mosque of 'Amr at Fosṭāṭ in 827. The Alcazaba of Merida and masonry in the citadel and walls of Toledo (837) are described in Chapter VII by Félix Hernández. The great mosque of Qairowān is first discussed in Chapter VIII; later additions to it are handled in Chapters XV and XVI, Chapter XV including an account of the lustre tiles by Marçais. Chapters IX, XI, XIII, and XVIII are all headed Sāmarrā. In Chapters X and XII we return from Mesopotamia to Sūsa to the mosque of Bū Fatātā, the great mosque, the walls, and the lighthouse; the chessboard decoration of the great mosque is described by Marçais. The cisterns of Qairowān (860–3) and the Nilometer on Rōḍa island form the subjects of Chapter XIV. The great mosque of Tunis is the one monument of the period which Europeans cannot enter; it has been described in Chapter XVI by one of Creswell's students, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ḥilmī, and photographed by Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Chapter XVII is devoted to the works of Aḥmed ibn Ṭūlūn, the hospital, aqueduct, and mosque (876–9) at Cairo and the harbour walls at 'Akka. A miḥrāb at Shirāz, a house at Fosṭāṭ in the Sāmarrā style, and a mausoleum at Bukhārā conclude Chapter XVIII. The monuments are described after the fashion of an Arabic annalist, the author skipping from place to place to preserve chronological sequence.

Few of these monuments show much mingling of the two main currents which run through the Muslim art of the period, the Iraqi-Persian traditions in the east and the Syro-Hellenistic traditions farther west. Iraqi-Persian influences are dominant in the colossal 'Abbāside buildings on the banks of the Tigris. For the first time English readers can now realize the character of this imperial art from the admirable plans, photographs, and drawings placed at Creswell's disposal by the generosity of Herzfeld and his collaborators on the various sites round about Sāmarrā. The palaces excavated there were immense improvisations—the phrase comes from Herzfeld—designed for the elaborate court ceremonial which the 'Abbāsids had copied from their despotic Persian predecessors;

hence the series of vast audience chambers and the stupendous scale of the lay-out—a single palace with its dependencies was more than 1,400 metres long; the congregational area of one mosque measures 240 metres by 156 and the total with annexes covers 41 acres. They were built of sun-baked bricks and were short-lived; the palace and mosque of al-Mutawakkil were deserted in less than a year. The walls were decorated with a stucco revetment, but the repetition of mass-produced patterns compares very poorly with the varied designs in the same material on Syrian buildings of the preceding period. The mosque built in Cairo by Aḥmed ibn Ṭūlūn who had spent much of his early life at Sāmarrā is the finest building in this style which is still in use; it was built of red brick at the founder's express injunction.

In a summary all too brief Creswell notes that this new imperial 'Abbāside art under strong Iraqi-Persian influence did not extend its sway over the whole of Islam; in Syria and the lands farther west it failed to oust the older Syro-Hellenistic tradition; the mosque of Ṭūlūn is the only great example of the new style in these countries. And this older, Umayyad, tradition was still full of life. Of the later architectural developments the greater number and the more interesting hail from Syria. The introduction, for example, of a dome in front of the miḥrāb occurs in the Aqṣā mosque at Jerusalem of 780 and in the mosques at Sūsa, Qairowān, and Tunis of 850–864; it is a feature which goes back to the Damascus mosque of 705–715. Again, the earliest arcades perpendicular to the qibla wall appear in Jerusalem, Cordova, and Qairowān, and the square minarets of Qairowān and Cordova are derived by Creswell from the towers in Syrian churches. The pointed arch struck from four centres, which is often called the Persian arch, is first found in 772 at Raqqa in North Syria. On the other hand, the lustre tiles which appear first as a revetment at Qairowān came from Iraq; they may be regarded as a substitute for glass mosaics but became very popular in later times. Creswell describes the squinch as another feature borrowed from Sasanian Persia but he uses the term in a loose sense. A squinch is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "a straight or arched support constructed across an angle in order to carry some superstructure", but it is used in this book indifferently of arches and semi-domes. Thus we are told that "the squinch was invented in Persia at least as early as the third century A.D., that in the fifth century it spread

to the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire, where it takes the form of a semi-dome on a semi-cylinder, and then to Armenia in the seventh" (p. 118). Now, whatever may be the origin of the arch squinches at Ukhaiḍir, the construction of semi-domes on semi-cylinders across the corners of a square is a common feature in classical buildings from Pompeii onwards and it seems absurd to look to Persia for the origin of the expedients adopted, say, at Khoja Kalesi or Korykos (Figs. 99 and 102). Creswell credits the 'Abbāsids with marked advances in the art of fortification and singles out their discovery or rediscovery of the bent or right-angled entrance into city gates; it is a tiresome plan as anyone who has watched carts worming their way through the Sion gate at Jerusalem will agree but it must have had some military advantages or it would not have been adopted so widely as it was in later days. (It may be added that there are two bent or right-angled entrances at Faras in Nubia, which though assigned to various periods have never been dated so late as the time of Manṣūr—see *Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, xiii, pp. 25 f., and xiv, p. 114; it would throw an interesting light on the history of Nubia if they could be brought down to the 'Abbāside period.)

It was thanks to the enlightened generosity of the late King of Egypt, Fuad I, that this work was undertaken, and the second volume is dedicated to his son, King Faruq, who has inherited his father's interest in art and archæology. The work has been produced in a sumptuous and monumental style of which even the Clarendon Press may be proud.

B. 731. J. W. Crowfoot.

Arabia and the Isles. By H. Ingrams. pp. xvi + 367, pl. 32, maps 2. London: John Murray, 1942. 18*s.*

It is easy to pick holes in this book; Mauritius is out of place in it, the style changes in the middle, it makes promises which are not fulfilled, the proofs might have been read more carefully, and the index is careless in more ways than one. But none of these things matter. It would have taken an even stronger man than Mr. Ingrams to resist the contrast between the more than Victorian manners of Mauritius and the indigo soaked bedouin of Hadhramaut. The first part of the book is a good yarn accompanied with many chuckles and the second is a tale of which anyone might be proud.

The Arabs are the subject of the book and the climax is the bringing of peace to Hadhramaut. There were more than 1,300 signatures to the treaty of peace; this gives an idea of the political disintegration of the country with two sultans, chiefs of towns and tribes, seyyids (descendants of the prophet) who rule in their own right, and sheikhs who have been displaced by the seyyids. In Tarim a seyyid rules a ward of the town and, if one of his subjects commits an offence outside the ward, the sultan cannot punish him. As a result of the peace the price of rifles has dropped like a stone, grown-ups "live in the peace of God and the peace of Ingrams" while squabbling children threaten to "tell Ingrams". It is a great tale; the reader finds it hard to envisage the various actors as their personalities have not been forced upon him in hours of argument. No novelist would dare to put in a story the contrasts to be found in Hadhramaut; cave dwellers side by side with swimming baths where the water is changed by a one horse-power oil engine. It is amusing to read this book side by side with the *Daughters of Sheba*.

The trip from Mukalla reminds one of the old diligence; going uphill first class passengers kept their seats, second class got out and walked, third class got out and pushed. Donkeys are the aristocratic animals on this road. The number of giants buried in that land is surprising (a lord Matar (Rain) makes one think). One chief was such a mighty warrior that he died with his right arm outstretched and was buried in that attitude; detractors say that his arm got stuck that way because he was such a persistent beggar. One tribe is said to be descended from an illegitimate child who was thrown into the sea and then washed ashore. It is surprising to read that camel men can pass themselves off as members of a tribe other than their own when travelling through the land of their enemies. In spite of differences the common Arab stock shows through; the bedouin are ruled by *'urf*, customary law, not by the law of Islam; the traveller takes as safe conduct a man of the tribe through whose land he journeys though the Hadhramaut calls it *sayāra*; the tomb of a saint is a safe-deposit and sailors in peril of the sea make vows to a saint. There are places in the book where one wishes that the author had taken pity on the ignorance of his readers and explained things more fully.

B. 732. A. S. TRITTON.

India

HAIDAR ALI. By NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. iv + 294. Calcutta. Rs. 5.

Dr. Sinha's careful study of Haidar Ali up to the last three years of his life will hardly supersede the brilliant character sketch by Wilks, or the full account by Rice in the *Mysore Gazetteer*. He has, however, made good use of fresh material, particularly the recently published Maratha documents, and the papers in the archives at Goa. He writes with fairness, but his view that the final implacable hostility of Haidar to the British was due to the failure of the latter to accept the Mysore Ruler's offer of friendship will hardly bear examination. In spite of Haidar's unprovoked assistance to the French against the British in 1760, and his equally uncalled for effort to induce the Marathas to join him in attacking them in 1766, both the Madras and the Bombay Governments had attempted to make terms with Haidar and had found him impracticable. The policy of the Madras Government was indeed feeble and incompetent, and Haidar was able to base on one article of their Treaty with him of 1769 a claim that the British should join him in a war against the Marathas. He cannot, however, have seriously believed that the Company's Government would attack the Marathas with whom the British were then on good terms and whose friendship was essential for the safety of Bombay. Haidar's own evidence is the best possible. There is no reason to doubt the truth of his words to his Minister, Poorniah, as repeated by the latter to Wilks, that there was not sufficient cause for war between him and the English, and that he might have made them his friends. The truth is that Haidar was, as regards the making of wars and the breaking of treaties, the Hitler of the period. As Dr. Sinha shows, the Nizam, the Marathas, and the Portuguese found him just as dangerous and untrustworthy as the English did. It may be hoped that the idea that Haidar was in any way an ill-used man will not colour the volume which Dr. Sinha promises us of Haidar's last years. Such a completion of Dr. Sinha's painstaking work will be welcome.

B. 733. P. R. CADELL.

THE STUDIO—SPECIAL INDIAN NUMBER. August, 1942. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 80, pls. 72. London. 2*s*. 6*d*.

This number on Indian Arts and Crafts is disappointing. With

a nice discrimination and selection of the very best in Hindu sculpture, bronzes, and frescoes, it might have been possible to collect the cream of Indian art into eighty pages. But, instead, the illustrations have been chosen haphazard from the archæological and historical standpoint and not, as one would expect in *The Studio*, from the artistic. Apart from the excellent coloured copies of Ajanta's frescoes there is not one specimen of superlative art clearly pictured. Most of the illustrations will confirm the prejudice that Hindu art is a crowded labyrinth in which no one but a Hindu is at home. Who would learn from this volume, as one can from Dr. Stella Kramrisch's photos and Dora Gordine's lectures or from René Grousset or even from the few plates in Roger Fry's *Last Lectures*, that the best Indian sculpture is the finest the world has ever seen ? The few bas-reliefs shown here separately are poor reproductions of poor work (pls. 21–3). There would have been room at least for two pieces of good sculpture or two of the superb South Indian bronzes in the space allotted to an art-school panel (pl. 35) and to worthless ivories (pl. 63). The coloured plates of Tang pictures (pls. 15 and 56) might well have been omitted to make room for a Bagh fresco and a Rajput miniature.

The text by Mr. F. H. Andrews gives a discursive account of Indian crafts. The modern metal-work depicted shows how technique has become an end in itself, ousting from design that measure and restraint still to be found in traditional patterns of Javanese and Malay work done under the influence of Hindu smiths in the classical period.

R. 734. R. O. WINSTEDT.

AN EXHIBITION OF THE SCULPTURE OF GREATER INDIA. By C. T. LOO and JOHN POPE. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 72, pls. 69. New York, 1942.

Though it is not clearly stated, this is apparently a collection still in the possession of Messrs. C. T. Loo and Co., and apparently the useful outline of the main schools of Indian sculpture is by Mr. Pope. The title is meant to include India as well as Java and Cambodia and Siam. The very representative collection has specimens of the Gandhara, Amaravati, Mathura, South Indian, Khmer, and Javanese schools. It contains one fifth-century female head (pl. 26) from Mathura rather damaged but vital and of notable

merit. The twelfth-century head of a Tirthankara or Jaina saint (pl. 31) is strongly modelled with expressive treatment of the eyes. In variety and quality the whole collection is of the kind that no Oriental museum should be without :—to recall Charles Lamb's *biblia a-biblia* that no gentleman's library should be without. If all the pieces are not art, they all illustrate the history of art. There are, for example, two typical examples (pls. 54, 55) of the popular Khmer reliefs, which those with an eye for the great must follow Dora Gordine (in this journal) in condemning as sugar-cake ornament. Pl. 1 exhibits a fine head in the Gandharan style—that style which perfectly illustrates the five injurious effects that good art critic Samuel Taylor Coleridge (thinking probably of Flaxman, Thorwaldsen, and Canova) discovered in any imitation of the antique : "It cannot fail to have a tendency to keep the attention fixed on externals rather than on the thought within ; . . . it circumscribes the artist's views of mental expression to the ideas of power and grandeur only ; . . . it induces an effort to combine two incongruous things, that is to say, modern feelings in antique forms ; . . . it speaks in a language, as it were, learned and dead, the tones of which, being unfamiliar, leave the common spectator cold and unimpressed ; and lastly it necessarily causes a neglect of thoughts, emotions, and images of profounder interest and more exalted dignity . . . piety, devotion, the divine become human."

The plates and format are excellent.

B. 735 R. O. WINSTEDT.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Sir Flinders Petrie, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.B.A.

The death of Sir Flinders Petrie at Jerusalem on 28th July has removed Britain's most famous Egyptologist. The son of a civil engineer and the grandson of a sailor explorer of Australia, he was born in 1853 and, like quite a sprinkling of scholars, was educated privately. Starting his life's work with a survey of Stonehenge and other British remains, in 1880 he turned to the Great Pyramid and wrote a classical work on "The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh". And his new method of excavation with its conservancy of the smallest fragments from the past laid the foundation of our knowledge of Egyptian chronology, art, and culture, especially of the archaic or pre-dynastic age. Though Petrie was insular in outlook and practice, his scientific method of digging was studied and followed by American, German, Dutch, and other foreign archæologists.

Working first for the Egyptian Exploration Fund, Petrie later with characteristic independence contrived to establish a "British School of Archæology in Eygpt" without any government assistance.

Apart from publications on his excavations, his work is enshrined in his catalogues of the Edwards collection at University College, London, and in such books as *The Arts and Crafts of Egypt*. Famous, too, in its day was his article on "The Egyptian bases of Greek History" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xi, 1890), and he was the first to date the middle Minoan period.

From 1892 till 1933 Petrie was Edwards Professor of Egyptology at University College, London, and he was knighted in 1923.

Edward Hamilton Johnston, 1885–1942

The death of Professor Johnston will have been widely deplored among friends and orientalists. Elected in 1937 to be Boden Professor of Sanskrit and Keeper of the Indian Institute, and admitted as a Professorial Fellow of Balliol, he was still, at the age of 57, favourably situated for a long continuation of the highly congenial work to which he had brought a vigorous competence. The few war-time students of Sanskrit at Oxford always found him accessible and helpful in their researches; and he had taken up with keen interest the task of cataloguing the very extensive

collection of Sanskrit MSS. procured for the Bodleian in 1907 by Professor A. A. Macdonell. He had also compiled for the India Office Library one Part of its "Catalogue of European MSS." In the Indian Institute he had applied his archæological *flair* and his familiarity with things Indian to the improvement and rearrangement of the Museum. In the Society's *Journal* (1938) he published an account of one of its old possessions, the "Gopalpur bricks", and he was engaged upon the interpretation of an inscription informative in regard to the early history of Pegu. More personally he was preparing an edition of a difficult ancient text of Northern Buddhist dogmatics, the *Uttara-tantra*, based upon old Sanskrit MSS. procured in Tibet by the Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana ; of which text he had previously (*BSOS.*, viii, pp. 77–89), in collaboration with Professor H. W. Bailey, published a Central-Asian fragment in Saka-Khotanī transliteration with notes in that language.

Johnston's introduction to work as an orientalist had been gradual. Born in 1885 (26th March), second son of R. E. Johnston, a Governor of the Bank of England, he had his schooling at Eton, whence in 1904 he proceeded to Oxford as a Mathematical Exhibitioner of New College. After a First Class (1905) in Mathematical Mods he found History more to his taste and in that subject he took another First Class in 1907. He passed into the Indian Civil Service, and after the probationary period, at the close of which he won the Boden Sanskrit Scholarship, he arrived in India in November, 1909, having been appointed to Bengal, afterwards Bihar and Orissa.

Of Johnston's career in India no very personal details are available. As Assistant Magistrate and Collector, he served at first in Midnapore and afterwards mainly in South (but with one period in North) Bihar (Ranchi, Patna, etc.). During about three years (1915–18) he was Under-Secretary in the Revenue and other Departments, and in the Home Department of the Government of India. As early as 1920, after being "Joint", he became Magistrate and Collector (Imperial Service), being stationed in Monghyr. He seems to have been observant of indigenous agricultural and other practices, to which in his studies of ancient texts he sometimes appealed. But it was, it seems, not until later that he realized the great value of the Buchanan-Hamilton Survey Reports and Journals, which during the last thirty years have so creditably been edited

on behalf of the Bihar Government and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. From 1915 Johnston was a member of that Society, and his one traceable publication during his Indian period was printed in its *Journal* for 1920 (pp. 322–3), being an account of a statue group, of medieval date, excavated at a village in the Begusarai Subdivision. Early in 1924 he took the option of retirement after fifteen years' service. Having won a wife, in the person of Iris Olivia Helena, third daughter of the late Sir Henry May, of Clare Priory, Suffolk, he settled down at Adderbury.

Having the Oxford libraries within reach, Johnston now devoted himself to systematic Sanskrit studies. His first task was the examination of a very old MS. of Aśvaghoṣa's famous poem, *Buddhacarita*, "Life of Buddha"; a MS. temporarily deposited in Oxford by the Nepal Government. A collation of this MS. was his first contribution (1927) to the Society's *Journal*. His attention had already been drawn to the Tibetan version, indirectly used to some extent in Cowell's *editio princeps* of the Sanskrit, and he had afterwards also consulted Dr. Weller's part publication of it. His own edition and translation of the Sanskrit, which required not only a detailed comparison with the Tibetan and then, moreover—a large moreover—with a Chinese rendering, but also an examination of the numerous studies which had followed upon Cowell's publication, was to be a work *de longue haleine*. In the meanwhile he turned to another famous poem by the same author, the *Saundarananda*, which had been brought to light by Haraprasād Śāstrī in 1910: here also Johnston was able to use two excellent old MSS., generously lent by the Nepal Government. There being no Tibetan or Chinese version to complicate the task, and the critical discussions having been fewer, the improved text could be published (by the Oxford University Press, Punjab University Oriental Publications) as early as 1928: in 1932 it was followed by a translation (No. 14 of the same series), entitled *The Saundarananda, or Nanda the Fair*. The edition and translation (2 vols., Nos. 31 and 32 of the series, 1936) of the *Buddha-carita*, presented a revised text with full critical notes, a rendering, exact but readable, with searching commentary on the matter and the Sanskrit expressions, a long introduction concerning the author, his writings, his religious and sectarian attachments, his use of language and metre, his learning and allusions and his poetic quality. The work, in connection with which Johnston had perused

the whole Pali canon of Buddhism and which is comprehensive in citations of Sanskrit texts and the literature relating to them, is a credit to British scholarship. The incompleteness of the Sanskrit text was, in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. xv, 1936–7, mitigated by a translation, direct from the Tibetan version (but with consultation of the Chinese), of the missing (xv–xxviii) cantos of the poem. The merit of Johnston's work, which included a long paper (*JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 565–592) of original " Notes on some Pali words ", was recognized in 1933 by the University of Oxford, which approved his application for the Degree of D.Litt.

In connection with Aśvaghoṣa's allusions Johnston had taken into consideration the obscure beginnings of the Indian philosophical systems, especially Sāṃkhya and Yoga. In 1930 he contributed to the *Journal* an elaborate study of a cryptic passage in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (" Some Sāmkhya and Yoga conceptions of the Ś.U."), wherein he sought to evince a transition stage as regards some particulars of Sāṃkhya doctrine, adducing also even from the *Tattva-samāsa* traces of views prior to the classical Sāṃkhya of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Kārikā*. More generally he treated the same subject in vol. xv (1937) of the Society's Prize Publication Fund Series. Here the discussion was expressly limited to the development shown by leading expressions in the terminology: the argument, being extremely close and involving citation of innumerable passages from a wide literature, largely of problematic date, could be followed and evaluated only with equal scrutiny in detail. The conclusions (pp. 80–8) affirm a long and complex transformation of early notions, contemplating primarily the psychology and destiny of the individual, into the cosmological system of the *Kārikā*. There are many comparisons with Buddhist ideas and references to the evidential value of Aśvaghoṣa's criticisms, which first prompted the inquiry.

The Kauṭilīya *Artha-śāstra*, the primary treatise (recovered during the present century) on government organization, policy, and action, was the subject of two articles contributed to the *Journal*, one (1929) dealing with Buddhist references to the immoral principles of the science and with matters of land-tenure and agriculture, the other (1936) a brief discussion of a text concerning cattle-theft. Here Johnston was able to bring light from his official experience in India and to point the argument from Aśvaghoṣa's citations in favour of an early date (prior, perhaps long prior, to 250 A.D.)

of the Śāstra text: he was inclined to recognize indications connecting the text with Bihar or Central India.

Suggested by criticism of writings by other scholars were Johnston's brief paper on the *Vardhamāna* symbol (*JRAS.*, 1932), a topic originally mooted by himself, and his long, and largely controversial, discussion (1939, pp. 217–240) of "Demetrias in Sind". His last papers were a note on "Bird-names in the Indian dialects" (*BSOS.*, viii, pp. 599–601), that on "The *Tridaṇḍamālā* of Aśvaghoṣa" (*JBORS.*, 1939, pp. 11–14), and his "Ctesias on Indian Manna" (*JRAS.*, 1942).

From about 1931 Johnston frequently contributed to this *Journal* reviews, which ranged widely over the fields of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, as well as of Pali and Tibetan. He never failed, despite the brevity now usual, to manifest by definite comments or criticisms a serious examination of the matter reviewed.

Johnston's household of three sons and three daughters included children of his brother, predeceased. Upon the outbreak of the war Mrs. Johnston and most of the family left, like so many Oxford families, to reside in America, while Johnston himself took up the life of an "unmarried don" in Balliol College. From the outset of hostilities he rendered full service as an Air Raid Warden and Home Guard. The sympathy of the Society, which he joined as long ago as 1909, becoming a member of its Council in 1935, will go out to his widow and family.

F. W. THOMAS.

November, 1942.

Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids

(27TH SEPTEMBER, 1857–26TH JUNE, 1942)

With the passing of Mrs. Rhys Davids closes the pioneer stage of Pali studies and of a scholarly interpretation of Pali Buddhism in England. In this capacity she was the co-worker and successor of her husband T. W. Rhys Davids to whom she owed her inspiration for Buddhist studies. His life-work, the editing of the Pali Canon through the medium of the Pali Text Society, she almost concluded.

This enthusiastic missionary of "Gotama the Man" has left us with an abundance of published research which shows a mind gifted with grace and talent, a power of assimilation and an imagination able to lend new life to dead bones and to reinterpret old creeds

according to new needs. It is not too much to say that the ideas of the educated layman about Pali Buddhism to-day are those first put forth by Mrs. Rhys Davids, and her own translations are worthy of being classed among gems of English poetical literature.

It is impossible to give here more than the barest outline of her work. To whatever journal, dealing with Eastern philosophy and religion, the student may turn, he will find contributions vital with her character, personal as well as scholarly. Since she was not a follower of any particular school of thought but made a school herself, it is not to be wondered that in many of her theories she stood alone. How much of her Buddhism will live, only time can tell. Her hypotheses, supported by an extensive study of Indian philosophy, were truths to her, especially the ideas put forth in her latest stage, like the idea of "becoming", in which a psychologist might be tempted to see a reflection of her own becoming. Whether correct or not these ideas have proved and will continue to prove an invaluable stimulus to further research. Of her work and its effect we can just say with Horace *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*.

W. STEDE.

Report of the Council for 1941-2

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

14th May, 1942

During the year the following Members died :—

Vice-Patron Field-Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught.

Ex-President The Marquess of Willingdon.

Maharaja Adhiraja Bijay Chand Mahtab of Burdwan.

Mr. A. G. Ellis, Sir J. G. Frazer, Professor A. H. Harley, Mr. C. Rustomji, Drs. T. Grahame Bailey, Rabindranath Tagore, and R. Campbell Thompson.

The following resigned :—

Messrs. H. Hargreaves, E. L. Norton, and Sidney Smith.

The following took up their election :—

Sir Aziz u'l-Huque, Mrs. N. Chadwick, Miss R. M. Wilkinson, Professors G. Haloun and J. Mauchline, Messrs. Aye Maung, D. Attas, S. T. S. Martin, S. Raganathan, V. Rienaecker, Y. D. Sharma, and R. C. Stevenson, Lieut. V. H. Gray.

War conditions still made any table showing fluctuations in the number of members premature, but it is clear that for some years membership must be adversely affected.

Lectures.

"The Campaign of Alompra against Siam in 1760," by M. Jean Burnay.

"Contemporary Chinese Literature," by Mr. Hsiao Chi'en.

"The Early Life of Philip Francis," by Prof. H. H. Dodwell.

"Rabindranath Tagore," by Mr. E. J. Thompson.

"An-yang Past and Present," by Mr. E. H. Hansford and Professor P. W. Yetts.

Universities Essay Prize.—This was won by Mr. C. F. Brunner who wrote on *Arab Traders of the Indian Seas in Pre-Mughal Times.*

Society's Publications, 1941-2.

Forlong Fund.—*Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭahir Marvazī* on China, the Turks and India, by Professor V. Minorsky.

Monographs on *The significance of Prefixes in Sanskrit Philosophical Terminology* by Dr. B. Heimann and *Sa'adyah Gaon* by

Dr. H. G. Farmer were accepted but publication has been postponed until the end of the war.

Library Catalogue.—This was published and the Council is indebted to the Carnegie Trustees for their donation, to Mrs. Cardew for its preparation, and to Professor W. Perceval Yetts for designing the title-page and the spine of the cover.

The Journal.—It was rearranged so that only one index of its contents need appear in bound volumes. The number of pages was reduced owing to paper shortage.

Donations.—The Council is deeply indebted to the British Academy for a donation of £200 and to an Honorary Member. Professor E. Herzfeld, for a donation of £5.

His Grace The Duke of Westminster again remitted £100 of the normal rent of our premises.

Mrs. Currie generously gave a collection of Chinese books.

Officers and Members

Members paying the full subscription, whether living in Great Britain or abroad, were now styled Fellows.

For the first time the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the invitation of the Society, nominated Sir William Peel, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., as a member of Council.

The privilege of free membership during the war was extended to Dr. M. von Blankenstein and to Heer A. Muhlenfeld of the Free Dutch community.

Sir Atul C. Chatterjee was elected a Vice-President; Professor E. D. Edwards was re-elected Honorary Secretary, Dr. L. D Barnett Honorary Librarian, and Mr. E. S. M. Perowne Honorary Treasurer. Sir Aziz u'l-Huque, Professor W. P. Yetts. and Messrs. L. C. Hopkins, C. A. Kincaid, and S. Ranganadhan were elected members of Council.

The following were elected Corresponding Fellows :—

Professor Louis Grey, of University of Columbia.

Professor W. N. Brown, of the University of Pennsylvania on the recommendation of the American Oriental Society.

A. de C. Sowerby, Esq., on the recommendation of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Dr. S. K. Chatterji, on the recommendation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Dr. M. Ruthnaswamy, on the recommendation of the Madras Literary Society.

Auditors' Report

We have examined the accounts and find them in order. There is a slight discrepancy between the provisional statement and the final accounts owing to the commuted subscriptions being shown in the former as £847 15*s*. 7*d*. whereas the correct figure is £1,180 5*s*. 8*d*. This discrepancy has been explained to our satisfaction. It does not affect the balance. This closes at some £80 above last year's figure, which is satisfactory, and shows the value of the economies recently effected.

The books have been well kept and the Secretary is entitled to credit for excellent work in this connection.

25th August, 1942.

Richard Burn (for Council),
R. E. Enthoven (for Society).

Notes

A very important addition to the Library has been made by the bequest of the late Lady Holmwood's books. The daughter of E. T. Atkinson, author of the first Gazetteers of the North-Western Provinces, she was born in India, and having married Sir Herbert Holmwood, she lived there more than forty years. She had a warm but discriminating love for the Indian peoples and their art and thought, and amassed a fine collection of artistic objects and books about them. It was her wish that her library should be presented to the Society; and by the good offices of Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, nearly 300 works on the art, antiquities, and philosophy of India and the East, with more than 200 on non-oriental science and philosophy and a large number of pamphlets and extracts from periodicals, will supplement the resources of our Library and preserve a gracious memory.

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

This trust was founded by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, to facilitate the publication of original literary contributions on Buddhism, Jainism, or the History or Geography of India to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Accounts

Below follow accounts for the Society and its various funds.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1940		
Carnegie Grant for printing Catalogue . .	250 0 0	
Compounded Subscriptions Account . .	1,180 5 8	
	1,430 5 8	
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account .	1,269 12 10	
		160 12 10
SUBSCRIPTIONS—		
Resident Members	154 7 0	
Non-Resident Members	451 10 0	
Students and Miscellaneous . . .	23 4 7	
		629 1 7
RENTS RECEIVED		350 0 0
GRANTS—		
Government of India	315 0 0	
" Federated Malay States .	40 0 0	
" Straits Settlements . .	20 0 0	
" Hong Kong . . .	10 0 0	
		385 0 0
Donation (Prof. E. Herzfeld)		5 0 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Subscriptions	287 19 0	
Additional Copies sold	45 4 0	
Pamphlets sold	2 17 4	
		336 0 4
DIVIDENDS		78 2 8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS. . . .		3 11 2
SALE OF CATALOGUE		33 16 10
SUNDRY RECEIPTS		42 16 3
		£2,024 1 8

INVESTMENTS

£1,426 1*s*. 10*d*. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1*s*. 1*d*. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

PAYMENTS FOR 1941

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—		
Rent and Land Tax	428 17 3	
Rates, less those defrayed by Tenants	60 15 3	
Gas and Light	74 11 11	
Coal and Coke	41 6 10	
Telephone less refunds	15 2 4	
Cleaning	5 5 0	
Insurance	71 19 7	
Repairs and Renewals	27 11 5	
		725 9 7
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND		30 10 6
SALARIES AND WAGES		451 15 0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY		14 15 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Printing	380 14 7	
Postage	15 0 0	
		395 14 7
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE		9 3 4
GENERAL POSTAGE		25 2 11
SUNDRY EXPENSES—		
Teas	7 15 7	
Lectures	2 2 0	
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	10 17 11	
War Damage Contribution	50 0 0	
Removal and Storage of Books	34 15 0	
Miscellaneous	24 4 0	
		129 14 6
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1941		
Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250 0 0	
Compounders' Subscriptions Account.	847 15 7	
	1,097 15 7	
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account	855 19 4	
		241 16 3
REPRESENTED BY:		
Cash at Bank on General Account	230 5 9	
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank	5 7	
Cash in hand	11 4 11	
	241 16 3	
		£2,024 1 8

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { R. BURN, Auditor for the Council, R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Society.

13th August, 1942.

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1941

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/41	684 7 9	Balance represented by £696 5s. 10d. 3½%		
Transfer from General Account	30 10 6	War Loan	714 18 3	
Dividends to be Re-invested	24 7 4	Cash at Bank	24 7 4	
				739 5 7
	£739 5 7			£739 5 7

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1941

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/41	84 7 7	Sundries	1 18 2
Sales	12 12 11	31/12/41 Balance carried to Summary	95 8 3
Interest on Deposit	5 11		
	£97 6 5		£97 6 5

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/41	80 15 9	31/12/41 Balance carried to Summary	120 16 10
Sales	10 1 1		
Grant from Max Muller Fund	30 0 0		
	£120 16 10		£120 16 10

Summary of Special Fund Balances 31st Dec., 1941

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Oriental Translation Fund	95 8 3	Cash at Bank—		
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund	120 16 10	On Current Account	156 5 1	
		On Deposit Account	60 0 0	
				216 5 1
	£216 5 1			£216 5 1

Investments. Nil.

TRUST FUNDS, 1941

Prize Publication Fund

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/41	79 19 7	Binding 500 Vol. XVIII	20 2 6
Sales	44 16 2	Sundries	1 1 1
Dividends	18 0 0	31/12/41 Balance carried to Summary	121 12 2
	£142 15 9		£142 15 9

Gold Medal Fund

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/41	51 13 5	Purchase of Token Medal	2 2 0
Dividends	9 15 0	31/12/41 Balance carried to Summary	59 6 5
	£61 8 5		£61 8 5

Universities Prize Essay Fund

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, 1/1/41	142 1 6	Cash Prize	20 0 0
Dividends	20 15 4	31/12/41 Balance carried to Summary	142 16 10
	£162 16 10		£162 16 10

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/41	101	15	10	31/12/41 Balance carried to Summary	124	7	10
Dividends	13	6	11				
Income Tax Refund	9	5	1				
	£124	7	10		124	7	10

Summary of Trust Fund Balances, 1941

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Prize Publication Fund	121	12	2	31/12/41 Cash at Bank on Current Account	448	3	3
Gold Medal Fund	59	6	5				
Universities Prize Essay Fund	142	16	10				
Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account	124	7	10				
	£448	3	3		£448	3	3

Trust Fund Investments

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1870 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1941

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/41	12	0	7	Purchase of Medals	4	1	3
Dividends	1	9	8	Balance—Cash at Bank on Current Account	9	18	0
	£13	19	3		£13	19	3

Burton Fund Investment

£49 10s. Local Loans 3% Stock

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1941

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance, 1/1/41	483	14	8	Printing 200 Vols. XIX, XX, XXI	266	13	0
Dividends	168	18	9	School of Oriental Studies—1 Scholarship	150	0	0
Sales	26	0	6	R.A.S. 10% Commission on 1940 Sales	3	11	2
Grant from Melbourne University for Vol. XIX	19	18	4	Sundries	6	6	0
Income-tax Recovered for the year ended 5th April, 1940	49	7	10	Balance—Cash at Bank on Current Account	321	9	11
	£748	0	1		£748	0	1

Forlong Fund Investment

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4% Government Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4% Debenture Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961.
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan.
£1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½% Inscribed Stock.

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JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

with which is incorporated
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